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Discursive Identities of First-Generation Russian-Speaking Immigrants

by

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ABSTRACT

Identity research among various immigrant groups has become a wide-spread phenomenon in many disciplines, including psychology, anthropology, sociology, and linguistics. This thesis takes a linguistic approach to the identity construction among Russian-speaking immigrants residing in Edmonton (Alberta) due to the lack of linguistic research of this immigrant group in Canada. It explores the immigrants' discursive self-images, their portrayal of local Canadians and their self-positioning in relation to their country of origin and to Canada. Deictic referential expressions are investigated as a linguistic means of identity construction.

Fifteen Russian speakers from the local Russian-speaking community were recruited and interviewed for the study. The results of the study revealed the importance of personal deictics for the construction of the respondents' self images, and of place deictics for the positioning towards Canada and their native countries. The research unearthed various images of the participants and uncovered the complex and contradictory nature of positionings.

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CHAPTER 1

Preface

Moving to a new country with a different culture and values is a challenging process. It is always a compromise between one's own values, habits and traditions and those of the new culture. The biggest challenge for a new immigrant is to find a balance between these two worlds. Despite this sizable challenge, international migration has become a widely common phenomenon in the new era of globalization which, as Li (2003: 2) states, encourages "the free movement of people across national boundaries, along with capital, technology, goods, and services".

The movement of people in search of better opportunities in life has increased dramatically in recent years. According to the Word Bank statistics cited in Li (2003: 3), "at the beginning of the twenty-first century, 2 to 3 million people emigrated as legal immigrants every year, mainly to the United States, Germany, Canada, and Australia. About 2.5 per cent of the world population, or roughly 130 million people, live outside their countries of birth – mostly in North America, Western Europe, Oceania, and the Middle East". In North America, between 1960 and 2005, the ratio of international migrants as percentage of the population increased from 6.1% in 1960 to 13.5% in 2005 (Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat 2005).

Canada has consistently been one of the countries attracting new immigrants. Li (2003) calls Canada one of the 'immigrant nations' and North America an 'immigrant society'; this is in contrast to the 'indigenous nations' whose population consists mainly of a native population that might have several origins. According to Li (2003), this distinction is only a matter of degree as it is difficult to imagine a nation with no history of migration.

As a country, Canada was formed by European settlers and its origins as a confederation date back to 1867. At this time, two immigrant communities, the British and the French, reached a compromise and built a new country with two nations, two cultures, and two languages. Therefore, in Canada immigration also played a role in nation building. Later, Canada was culturally 'framed' by the new waves of immigrants from other parts of the world. According to the statistics of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) for 2006, for a period of ten years (from 1995 to 2004) Canada received permanent flows of 190,000-250,000 immigrants a year, and about 180,000-260,000 of temporary inflows. Consequently, the foreign-born population of Canada accounted for 18 percent of its total population by 2004.

1.1. Introduction

1.1.1. Description of the Study and its Significance

The present study investigates the discursive construction of identities of Russian-speaking immigrants and explores the immigrants' discursive self-images, their portrayal of local Canadians and their self-positioning in relation to their country of origin and to Canada. Deictic referential expressions are investigated as a linguistic means of identity construction. The current research is conducted with one immigrant group: the Russian-speaking immigrants residing in Edmonton, Alberta. The goal of the project is to investigate identity construction of the participants through the analysis of their discursive practices with a focus on the selected deictics.

Numerous scholars have conducted studies of identity among different ethnic groups in Canada, including French-Canadian (Heller 1992), German-Canadian (Liebscher 2003), Italian-Canadian (Giampapa 2004), Japanese-Canadian (Nakahara 1991), and Indo-Canadian communities (Spink 1999) as well as others. Russian-speaking communities have been widely researched in the United States (Andrews 1998, Kishinevsky 2004). In Canada, the Russian-speaking communities have been mostly represented by sociological studies, such as the study of Soviet Jews in the Toronto area (Remennick 2007), the research of Kazakh intelligentsia in Toronto (Bannikova 2006), and several historical studies of Russian immigration to Canada (Hardwick 1993, Jeletzky 1983, Kukushkin 2004, 2007). The goal of this project is to fill the gap in the linguistic studies of identity in Russian-speaking immigrants to Canada. More specifically, the researcher is interested in studying the identities of a Russian-speaking community in Edmonton (Alberta). This community, in contrast to similar communities in the Toronto area, has not been discussed in any research literature. The only existing literature about Russian-speaking immigration to the

Prairie Provinces deals with the history of immigration dating back to the end of the nineteenth century, which started with the first organized immigrant group from the Russian Empire – the Doukhobors. This gap in the existing research, combined with the personal interest of the researcher in the Russian-speaking community, became the motivating factor in conducting this study.

1.1.2. Explanation of Terms

Several concepts used in this study are in need of detailed explanation. The term 'Russian-speaking' is very vague and requires specificity. Russian speakers in this study will be defined as immigrants from different parts of the former Soviet Union who consider Russian to be one (or the only) of their native languages, which they use as a means of communication with family members and speak with native proficiency. This definition does not necessarily include only ethnic Russians (see section 1.2.2), though they account for the most of the participants of the study. Some of the participants from Ukraine and especially from Belarus consider Russian their native language, and speak it with their family members. The term 'local Canadian' is another central concept of the research. It is used to refer to those people who were born and raised in Canada.

The term 'immigrant' requires explanation as well. Li (2003) discusses three approaches to this concept: bureaucratic, folk and analytical. The bureaucratic definition deals with the legal categories as defined by the immigration regulations under which immigrants are admitted. The folk definition, according to Li (2003), is usually associated with visible minorities – people who appear to look foreign to most Canadians, who have primarily European origins. According to the analytical definition, the term 'immigrant' is usually used "to refer to people who have moved from one country to another permanently" (Li 2003: 42). For the purposes of this

research, the analytical approach to the definition of immigrants is adopted, as neither bureaucratic nor folk definitions are relevant for this study.

As Li (2003) notes, the term 'immigrant' is not always applied consistently. For example, children of immigrant parents are sometimes referred to as second-generation immigrants. This study uses the term 'first-generation immigrants' with the same meaning as provided in the analytical definition of immigrants cited above. Therefore, in this study first-generation immigrants are those people who have moved to a new country permanently. The only children of immigrants included in the study are those who experienced a permanent move with their parents, and who also have some recollection of the life that they left behind.

Another central concept of the present research is the issue of identity. This phenomenon has been approached by researchers from numerous disciplines, including but not limited to: psychology (Dashefsky and Shapiro 1976, Epstein 1978, Escoffier 1991, Isaacs 1974, Phinney 1991, Tajfel 1974), sociology (Bannikova 2006, Driedger 1978, Kishinevsky 2004, Nakahara 1991, Remennick 2007, Song 2003, Woodward 1997), anthropology (Barth 1969, Gal 1989), linguistics (Andrews 1998, Benwell and Stokoe 2006, De Fina 2003, Giampapa 2004, Gudykunst and Schmidt 1987, Heller 1992, Kroskrity 1999, Liebscher 2000, Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2005), education (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004, Spink 1999), and cultural studies (Hall 1996). Moreover, the concept of identity itself is multifaceted. Numerous identities, such as ethnic identity, social identity and gender identity (among others) have been discussed by various researchers. The present study adopts Kroskrity's definition of identity as cited by de Fina (2003) in one of her studies as: "the linguistic construction of membership in one or more social groups or categories" (Kroskrity 1999: 111, cited in De Fina 2003: 15). In this definition, Kroskrity (1999) underscores

that although identity is not always expressed through different linguistic means, language plays a central role in its construction (De Fina 2003: 15). As the purpose of this study lies in the investigation of the various self-images made by Russian-speaking immigrants and their perceptions of local Canadians, the concept of identity is treated here in all its multiplicity and as having a mosaic nature. The mosaic nature of identity is expressed by the fact that every individual has different levels of identity that represent his/her various group memberships. This is explained by Escoffier (1991), as he claims that "the self is simultaneously connected with a number of different identity discourses and resides within overlapping identities" (adapted in Monk 2005: 81).

The current study focuses on social identity as a general concept. More specifically, it investigates the diverse memberships from which the Russian-speaking immigrants draw. These include ethnicity, nation, family, immigrant community, and particularly the Russian-speaking immigrant community. However, primary attention is given to the concept of ethnic identity which Spink suggests "includes a sense of belonging to a group whose members have similar ethnic origins, language, culture, beliefs and traditions" (Spink 1999: 9). As the present study emphasizes the process and the constructed nature of identity, the definition of ethnic identity suggested by Spink (1999) is modified in line with the definition of identity proposed by Kroskrity (1999) as the linguistic construction of belonging to a group whose members have similar ethnic origins, language, culture, beliefs and traditions. For this study, it is not of vital importance whether all the participants are of Russian ethnicity, although most of them are (11 out of 15). What is important is the fact that they all emigrated from the former Soviet Union, speak Russian, and share some cultural values and traditions. Although the Russian speakers come from different backgrounds, the fact

that they all speak Russian as one of their native languages or as their only native language allows the claim that all share some cultural values, as language cannot be viewed as separate from culture[1]. Moreover, according to Gudykunst and Schmidt (1987: 157), "research indicates that ethnic group members identify more closely with those who share their language than with those who share their cultural background".

1.1.3. Methodology

The current study investigates the discursive construction of identities via interviews with fifteen Russian-speaking immigrants and explores the immigrants' discursive self-images, their portrayal of local Canadians and their self-positioning in relation to their country of origin and to Canada.

The goal of the study is to find answers to the following questions:

1) How are the self-images of Russian-speaking immigrants and the images of local Canadians drawn by Russian-speaking immigrants constructed through their narrative discourse?
2) What role does ethnic identity play in the construction of these images?
3) How do the members of Russian-speaking community position themselves in their discourse in relation to their country of origin, as well as in relation to Canada?

The corpus for the study consists of interviews with the participants. These interviews were transcribed and analyzed. The interviews had an open-ended format and some of the issues addressed during the interviews included: reasons for migrating to Canada; the adaptation period upon arrival; the level of satisfaction with life in Canada and with the decision to migrate; the importance of preserving one's native cultures and languages, and the difficulties that the participants face in daily

[1] This can be illustrated by the difficulty of learning a foreign language. This difficulty is often connected with different cultural concepts encoded in foreign words with which a non-native speaker is not familiar.

life in Canada (see Appendix 1: Interview Guide). The interviews were followed by a questionnaire (Appendix 2). The participants for the study were recruited from the local Russian-speaking community with the help of some Russian-speaking community organizations and immigrant agencies.

Fifteen community members have participated in the research: five females and ten males. The average length of stay in Canada among the participants is shown to vary from 3.5 to 16 years. The average age of participants is approximately 40 years. The youngest participant is 21 and the oldest is 52 years old. All of the participants have received some post-secondary education. Eight out of ten male participants are employed in technical and business fields. Other occupations include a homemaker, a driver, a salesperson, university employees and students. Eleven out of fifteen participants are of Russian ethnic origin, three are of Ukrainian background and one is Jewish. The participants' varied genders are not relevant, and finding an equal balance of both male and female participants is not necessary for the research, as its aim is to provide an insight into the Russian-speaking community of Edmonton and not to draw a gendered comparison. This uneven gender distribution can also be understood as a result of the 'snowball method' of data collection.

This analysis is qualitative, and aims at providing an insight into self-perceptions of the Russian-speaking community in Edmonton. The analysis of the interviews focuses on the linguistic means of the discursive construction of identities, specifically, deictics. These "are a group of words whose referents always change with the setting" (Liebscher 2000: 189). The deictics analyzed in this study are: *my* 'we' – *oni* 'they', *etot* 'this' – *tot* 'that', *zdes'/ tut* 'here' – *tam* 'there', and *seichas* 'now' – *togda* 'then'. These represent a simplified version of Wodak's classification of personal, spatial and temporal references (Wodak et al. 1999: 35). These references

are analyzed in relation to their role in the discursive construction of immigrants' self-images, those of local Canadians, and the immigrants' self-positioning in relation to the country of their origin as well as in relation to Canada (more detailed methodology is presented in section 2.2).

1.1.4. Limitations of the Study

The researcher has to acknowledge a few limitations of the study. Firstly, a larger sample size would have been more representative for the study aiming to draw a picture of the Russian-speaking community. Secondly, the original focus on the analysis of selected deictics as means of identity construction is limited and might overlook other linguistic and non-linguistic means involved in this process. Therefore, the conclusions drawn from the analysis are based on and are specific to the analysis of this linguistic means of identity construction.

Finally, due to the busy schedules of most of the research participants, meetings had to be held at various locations such as their offices, coffee shops, their houses, university campus. These varying locations and time constraints had a noticeable influence on the participants' willingness and opportunity to give detailed answers to questions.

1.1.5. Thesis Structure

This thesis consists of five chapters. In the first chapter, the research topic is introduced and some background information on the history of Russian immigration is provided. Different approaches to the research of identity and the methodology of the present study are discussed in the second chapter. The third chapter presents the analysis of the research, and the fourth chapter discusses its results. Finally, chapter five presents conclusions and discusses suggestions for future research.

1.2. Russian Speakers in Canada

As the focus of the current research is on Russian-speaking immigrants in Edmonton, it is important to look at the phenomenon of immigration before discussing the more specific situation of Russian-speaking immigrant community. Also, as ethnic identity is one of the major focuses of this study it is important, before talking about ethnic identity, to first discuss what ethnicity and ethnic groups represent. The following section will deal with these concepts.

1.2.1. Immigration, Ethnic Groups and Ethnicity

Drawing from the analytical definition of the term 'immigrant', the immigration process can be defined as the process of people moving from one country to another, permanently (Li 2003: 42). This involves difficult choices about uprooting and resettling. According to Li (2003: 14), it also involves immigrants' reactions to two kinds of influential factors: "the 'push' factors that drove emigrants away from their home country and the 'pull' factors that lured immigrants to the country of destination". Immigration has also contributed to ethnic diversity and multiculturalism in the immigrants' destination countries.

Ethnic diversity and multiculturalism arise from the circumstance of various ethnic groups residing in one area (or one country). The first existing literature (e.g. Weber 1922) related to ethnicity concentrated around the concept of ethnic groups. Definitions of ethnic groups, according to Al Haj (2004: 14), usually involve the following components: objective components, subjective feelings, and behavioural factors. Weber's (1922) definition highlights behavioural elements and subjective feelings. He views ethnic groups as "those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration" (Weber 1922,

reprinted in Guibernau and Rex 1999: 18-19). One of the most widely accepted definitions of ethnic groups, according to Al Haj (2004), is that of Schermerhorn (1970), for whom an ethnic group is "a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood" (cited in Al Haj 2004: 14-15).

Al Haj (2004: 13) argues that "globalization has strengthened, rather than weakened ethnic identities and organization on an ethnic basis" and that the relationship between immigration and ethnicity has aroused much interest in recent years.

The first mention of the term 'ethnicity' belongs to Glazer and Moynihan, in their 1963 publication of *Beyond the Melting Pot*, and the 1975 follow-up, *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* (Fenton 2003). However, up to this date there is no clear cut definition of ethnicity, and numerous ideas have been proposed by various researchers. Fenton (2003: 179-80) argues that there cannot be a theory of ethnicity for two reasons: "there is not a single unitary phenomenon 'ethnicity' but rather an array of public and private identities which coalesce around ideas of descent and culture" and that "in the 'context of ethnicity', it is the context that matters more than the ethnicity".

Literature which deals with ethnicity discusses two approaches to its study: primordialism and constructivism (Karner 2007). The former is considered to be "a form of cultural determinism that postulates the more or less non-negotiable power of ethnic ties" (Karner 2007: 19). The constructivist approach can first be seen in the work of the Norwegian social anthropologist Fredrik Barth (1969). Barth connected the concept of ethnicity with the concept of ethnic boundaries. The essence of the

constructivist approach can be seen in the work of Richard Jenkins (1997: 50) who points out that "ethnic identity is situationally variable and negotiable …that "groups" are …emergent products of interaction and of classificatory processes". De Fina (2007: 373), who also adopts a constructivist approach, points out that the "definitions of ethnicity traditionally invoke psychological, cultural, economic, and biological criteria, or a mix of them". She cites several definitions that highlight the criteria mentioned above. The psychological approach to the definition of ethnicity is taken by Edwards (1985), who regards ethnicity "as defined by an individual's loyalty to a group that has an observable common past" (cited in De Fina 2007: 373) as well as by Buriel and Cardoza (1993). They presume that if an individual identifies with a particular ethnic group, then he/she will be expected to be perceived by others as member of that group, and be treated as such consequently. Others focus on social factors (Farley 1988) and situational variables (Levine 1997).

De Fina (2007) adopts the situational and context-related view on ethnicity. For her, ethnicity is "a social and interactional construct influenced by macro and local social circumstances and negotiated in concrete social contexts", and ethnic loyalties are not given, but negotiated, and ethnicity "should be regarded as an interactional achievement grounded in concrete social contexts and evolving with them" (De Fina 2007: 373-74). Karner (2007) points out that although the constructivist approach is a widely accepted recent phenomenon, several recent studies on ethnicity criticize its total denial of primordial approaches. Fenton (2003: 84) prefers to adopt a neutral view, saying that "someone may have an ascribed ethnic identity which is embedded in their personality and life experience, yet still perceive the circumstances under which it may be instrumental to deploy it".

Viewed from the constructivist point of view, ethnic identity which is negotiated during interactions between members of the ethnic community, as well as between the members of the community and outsiders, is "determined through social relationships with and in comparison to 'others'"(Al Haj 2004: 16). Ethnic identity changes through time at the individual level and should be placed into a wide context of different levels of definition, including social and ethnic categorization. Furthermore, more variables should be taken into account when an immigrant community is analyzed. Among them are: "motivation behind migration, background variables associated with the immigrants and home country, [and] the receptivity of the host society" (Al Haj 2004: 17).

1.2.2. Ethnic Russians vs. Russian Speakers

The term 'Russian immigrant' has always been treated as vague by immigration historians. In the beginning of the twentieth century 'Russian' was used as "a label of convenience for ethno-culturally heterogeneous peoples, many of whom were "Russian" only in the sense that they were subject of the "Tsar and Autocrat of all the Russia"" (Laine 1983: XX). Thus, at that time the term "Russian" was used to indicate any group of people who had emigrated from the Russian Empire regardless of their ethnicity. This umbrella term included ethnic groups such as Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Belarusians, Estonians, Finns, Jews, Lithuanians and other people from the Russian Empire. Even now, this trend still continues to some extent. According to Kukushkin (2004: 2), "given the fuzzy nature of the term "Russian" which was and is commonly used as a portmanteau label that could be affixed to any native of the Romanov Empire, the Soviet Union and now the Russian Federation, such references shed little light on the true origins of these immigrants" as these countries differ in their territory and population.

The confusion over the term "Russian" is further complicated with the internal migration and mixed marriages encouraged in the Soviet Union (Jeletzky 1983: xii). Jeletzky (1983) therefore assumes that the optimum method of identification of an immigrant is his/her own declaration (xiv). She argues that "such "self-definition" is often a reflection of the individuals' desire to continue family traditions, to maintain ties with the religious community and to preserve the Russian language" (Jeletzky 1983: xiv). According to Kukushkin (2004: 4-5), "the choice of ethnic identity by eastern Europeans, especially among groups with common ancestral roots and linguistic affinity has always been more a question of a person's political or religious loyalties than any fixed innate characteristics".

In this research the term Russian ethnicity is, therefore, based on the perceptions of the participants. Eleven of them claim that they are Russian, although only seven of them are from Russia. Two of the participants who declared Russian ethnicity came from Ukraine, one from Belarus, and one from Estonia. Therefore, ethnic Russians in this study are a diverse group, but the concept of ethnic Russian is not of major relevance for this study as its main focus is on the Russian-speaking community, members of which are not necessarily of the same ethnic origin. It is particularly important in Edmonton, where the Russian-speaking community seems to be mainly united by language, and not as much by ethnicity.

Due to the ambiguity of the term 'Russian', its irrelevance in the case of research within Russian-speaking community in Edmonton and an unwillingness to use this historic label for various peoples, this research utilizes the term 'Russian-speaking'. As mentioned above, for the purpose of the present study the term 'Russian-speaking' indicates immigrants from the former Soviet Union who consider the Russian language to be one of their (or only) native languages, and who speak

Russian with a native level of proficiency[2] and use it as their means of communication at home. Thus, the term Russian-speaking does not necessarily include only ethnic Russians and does not apply an ethnic label to the research.

1.2.3. Migration Waves and Their Characteristics

1.2.3.1. First Wave (end of 19th – beginning of 20th century): Religious

The first mass migration of Russian speakers to Canada occurred at the end of nineteenth – beginning of twentieth century. These were *Doukhobors* ('Spirit Wrestlers'), the religious sectarians who left Russia in 1899 and settled in Saskatchewan and British Columbia. These 8,000 people are considered the first Russian-speaking immigrants to have moved to Canada (Mogiljansky 1983: 1). This group is believed to have emerged as a result of the reforms of Patriarch Nikon (1605-1681) called the "Great Schism". Ukraine was the country of origin for the Doukhobor movement which began with Silvan Kolesnikov as their first leader, but due to religious persecution there many Doukhobors had to migrate. Others were exiled to different parts of the Russian Empire and separated from other Orthodox believers. In the Russian Empire, a power struggle for religious leadership erupted between the followers of the movement. The leader of one group, Peter Verigin, came into contact with Count Leo Tolstoy, a Russian religious thinker who had much in common with the religious and social viewpoints of the group. Eventually, he helped this group of Doukhobors resettle in Canada. The Doukhobors were a pacifist religious group, and their resettlement in Canada gave them their long-awaited exemption from military service in addition to other advantages.

After their arrival to Canada, the movement split into three sub-groups: the Independent Doukhobors, the Community Doukhobors and the Freedomites. The first

[2] As the researcher of this study is a native speaker of Russian, she could estimate the participants' level of proficiency in the Russian language during interviews.

group was the earliest to reject the communal way of life practiced by other Doukhobor groups and to assimilate into the Canadian society. However, many Doukhobors maintained their ethnic and religious ties well into the twentieth century. The Community Doukhobors of British Columbia continued to live a communal life until the 1950s. Even after the group had abandoned this way of living, one Community Doukhobor village on Vancouver Island continued to practice communal living. The Freedomites were the fiercest followers of the communal life and opposed those Doukhobors who were more lenient towards assimilation. They also did not favour sending their children to Canadian schools. Some Freedomites even considered returning to the Soviet Union, but were turned down by the Soviet government. In the 1950s the authorities of British Columbia took all school-aged children from their main settlement in the village of Krestova and sent them to a boarding school in Denver, British Columbia. After that, "the group finally accepted [the] inevitable" (Hardwick 1993: 89). Nowadays most Doukhobors, with a few exceptions, are entirely assimilated into Canadian life.

Another group of immigrants left the Soviet Union during what was called the White emigration. These were political refugees leaving the territory of the Soviet Union after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, and were composed mostly of members of the intelligentsia, military, civil servants and others who opposed the new order.

After the Revolution, more Doukhobors, as well as another religious group called the *Starovery* ('Old Believers'), arrived in Canada. The Old Believers' group was also formed after the Great Schism in the seventeenth century by those who did not accept the new reforms of that time. The migration patterns of Old Believers are temporally and spatially very different from the Doukhobors'. After the Revolution of

1917, many moved to China, the US and Canada. In Canada there are a few Old Believers' villages that still practice an agricultural way of life. One of them is located at Berezovka, near Edmonton, Alberta. Some Russian peasant farmers were also attracted by Canada's offers to new immigrants. Professionally, most of the pre-World War II immigrants, with the exception of the White émigrés, were rural farmers.

1.2.3.2. Second Wave (Post-World War II Immigrants): Political

The second wave of Russian migration to Canada occurred after World War II. The Russian speakers who arrived at this time cannot be treated as a homogenous group. Some of them were 'old' or 'White' émigrés who "found themselves as refugees for the second time" (Jeletzky 1983: 68). Another significant group of immigrants at that time were Soviet citizens who came to Germany during the Second World War. These were mostly young people who were transported by the Germans as forced labourers, the so-called *ostovtsy*. Others were prisoners-of-war who had been treated as traitors by the Stalinist government. Canada was one of the first non-European countries "to extend a tangible form of assistance" (Jeletzky 1983: 74) to these immigrants. In 1948, the number of immigrants accepted by Canada had increased to 125,414 people. While first post-war immigration to Canada had a humanitarian focus, with Prime Minister MacKenzie King in 1947 the focus changed and more immigrants began to be evaluated based on the group movement principle. This principle stated that new immigrants could be resettled if they could find employment in agriculture, road construction or other manual labour jobs. Therefore the professional make-up of this wave differed significantly from the previous immigrants who were mostly agricultural workers. The new immigrants were mostly qualified, but also unqualified industrial workers (in transport, communication, commerce, finance, agriculture,

mining, mechanical fields, etc.). Some of them worked as specialists in various fields. By the end of 1950s, the number of immigrants had considerably decreased. With the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961, this trend continued until the end of the 1960s. Only a small number of immigrants continued to arrive from Asia and Europe, many of whom were defectors; "some were members of visiting delegations who had planned their escape from the USSR during an official trip abroad" (Jeletzky 1983: 86). The legal immigrants from the end of the 1960s up to the collapse of the Soviet Union were formed from two groups: dissidents banished by the Soviet government who found themselves abroad against their will, and the third wave of Russian-speaking immigrants.

1.2.3.3. Third Wave (1970-1989): Ethnic

The third wave of immigration is also sometimes called the Jewish wave. It was comprised of Jews from the Soviet Union going to Israel and North America, possible because of Brezhnev's concession to Western pressure. Between 1971 and 1981, around 250,000 Jews left the USSR for Israel or North America (Remennick 2007: 4). By the end of the 1970s, about 5,000 Soviet citizens had immigrated to Canada through Vienna, Rome, Paris, and Brussels (Yaroshevsky 1983: 89). From 1981 until 1989 the emigration quotas were reduced to the pre-1970 level. Many Jews who left the Soviet Union during this period were very different from their counterpart communities in North America or in Israel. Some of them were half- or even a quarter-Jewish, and because of religious persecution and anti-Semitism were neither practicing their religious traditions nor did they speak Yiddish or Hebrew. Therefore, many of them were influenced by the language and cultural traditions of the country in which they grew up. Among these people were those who wanted and had to

struggle to get permission to emigrate, as well as those who were exiled by the KGB and those who escaped persecution by the militia.

This third wave differed from the previous two in regard to the reasons that caused people to migrate. While the immigrants of the previous waves "escaped under conditions of acute political and economic instability, often to save their lives" (Yaroshevsky 1983: 92), the new immigrants were escaping social and personal problems, low economic development or political persecutions. Occupationally, this wave was comprised of many highly qualified professionals who could not, however, practice their profession upon arrival due to their inability to speak English and their need to get accreditation for their practices. Less qualified immigrants, such as tradesmen and administrators, were more successful in establishing themselves in this new environment, as were the musicians who made up close to 10% of Toronto's Symphony Orchestra (Yaroshevsky 1983: 93). The Jewish immigration continued with the next 'professional' wave that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union.

1.2.3.4. Fourth Wave (Post-Soviet Immigration): Professional

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Soviet immigrants flooded Western countries. According to Bannikova (2006: 40), who cites Census 2001 data, between 1991 and 1995 over 40,000 Soviet immigrants arrived in Toronto alone. Later, between 1996 and 2001 the number increased to more than 65,000 (Bannikova 2006: 40). This immigration wave comprised of different ethnic and religious groups from the former Soviet Union. Remennick (2007: 279) concentrates her research on post-Soviet Jewish immigration to Canada, and particularly that to the Greater Toronto area where "over 47 percent of all new arrivals to Canada…settled… in the late 1990s". Jewish immigration to Canada at that time consisted of two waves: new Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union, and secondary immigrants from

Israel. This new immigration wave is sometimes referred to as professional, because it consists of highly qualified professionals and specialists in all fields. This is explained by Canada's recent immigration policies which encourage the free immigration of skilled workers and relies upon a points system. However, as Remennick (2007) found in her study of Jewish immigrants in the Greater Toronto area, the adjustment process for many highly qualified immigrant specialists was not easy, and many of them were unable to find jobs within their specializations. They had to either change their qualifications or accept lower status jobs or go through the Canadian licensing system, because many of their qualifications received outside of Canada were not recognized in emigration. This last wave of migration is still underway, with many more new immigrants arriving every year.

1.2.4. The Russian-Speaking Community in Edmonton

According to Statistics Canada, the population of Alberta increased by 10.6 percent: from 2,974,807 in 2001 to 3,290,350 in 2006. The population of the city of Edmonton within the same time period increased by 9.6 percent: from 666,104 in 2001 to 730,372 in 2006. Due to recent economic growth, the province and city attract more and more internal, as well as international, migrants. According to the 2006 Census, there are 10,145 residents in Alberta and 2,280 in Edmonton for whom the Russian language is a mother tongue[3].

As can be seen from Table 1, the number of people using only Russian or Russian in combination with one or both official languages most often at home has increased in Alberta from 4,030 in 2001 to 6,415 in 2006. In Edmonton, this figure has jumped from 1,465 in 2001 to 1,690 in 2006. Many of the participants in this

[3] According to Statistics Canada, "mother tongue refers to the first language learned at home in childhood and still understood by individuals".

study, in fact eight out of fifteen, moved to Edmonton in recent years because of the favourable economic situation and better career opportunities available.

TABLE 1: Russian Language Spoken Most Often at Home (adapted from Census 2001 and Census 2006)[4]

		Russian only	*English and Russian*	*French and Russian*	*Total*
2001	Alberta	3,680	430	10	4,030
	Edmonton	1,320	145	0	1,465
2006	Alberta	5,925	470	20	6,415
	Edmonton	1,595	95	0	1,690

Educationally, many Russian speakers (especially men) have university education in the sciences. Many are mechanical engineers who have moved to Edmonton due to wide availability of career opportunities in this field in Alberta recently. Russian-speaking Edmontonians are coming from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, the Caucasus, Kazakhstan, Israel, the United States and Germany. Mainly practiced religions are Orthodox Christianity, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism. There are also people with no religious affiliation.

The Russian community in Edmonton is represented by several community organizations, among which are: the Russian-Canadian Association of Alberta, the Russian Language and Cultural Learning Society, and the Edmonton Russian Recreation Club. The two former organizations run Russian Saturday schools, and all of them organize various events for the Russian-speaking community. There are also two Russian grocery stores and a number of Russian-speaking businesses in the west

[4] Data from both Census 2001 and Census 2006 are based on 20% sample data. This results from a cross-sectional approach to data collection where only 1 out of each 5 households was used for this type of data gathering (Statistics Canada 2007: 32).

side of the city. There is the Jewish Drop-in Center where Russian-speaking Jewish seniors meet once a week. They also organize various events and celebrations.

The above chapter has introduced current research and has presented background information on Russian-speaking immigrants in Canada in general, and the Russian-speaking community in Edmonton in particular. The following chapter discusses the relevant literature and presents in detail the methodology and theoretical framework used in this study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter first presents a literature review. Specifically, studies that focus on linguistic approaches to identity and utilize different linguistic means of identity construction are discussed in this section. The second part of this chapter outlines methodological concerns as well as the theoretical approach used in this thesis.

2.1. Literature Review

In the past, integration was mostly viewed as a one-way process in which immigrants were expected to assimilate into their new home country. Even in current literature, the terms integration, assimilation, and acculturation are used almost interchangeably. One set of definitions is provided by Berry (1987), who distinguishes four attitudes: assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization. According to Berry (1987), assimilation presumes a "low level of contact with the ethnic culture but a high identification with the dominant society"; separation – "little or no contact with the host or dominant culture" and total identification with the traditional ethnic culture; the individual who is willing to integrate is "willing to identify with the ethnic culture and with the dominant culture", and the person is marginalized when he/she "does not show identification with either the ethnic group culture or the dominant culture" (Berry's definitions as adapted by Spink 1999: 16).

As a multicultural society, Canada's official policy is aimed at facilitating the integration of immigrants, while preserving their ethnic heritage. While there are strong proponents of that policy, there are also many opponents who claim that this policy encourages ghettoism and the disintegration of the Canadian society[5]. While researching the discursive identities of the Russian-speaking community in

[5] The most vocal critics of this policy are Bissoondath (1994) and Gwyn (1995). They argue that multiculturalism emphasizes difference, which in itself hinders the integration of immigrants into mainstream society and damages Canada's national sense of self. This emphasis on difference helps preserve biases. Moreover, complete multiculturalism is hardly attainable because some cultures are likely to remain dominant and the others will have to accommodate them.

Edmonton, the present research touches on the questions of integration with specific emphasis on the level of adaptation and the preservation of ethnic culture within this community.

2.1.1. Approaches to Identity

2.1.1.1. Modern and Post-modern Approaches to Identity

The concept of identity has become a widely studied phenomenon in the various social sciences where it is seen as "conceptually important in offering explanations of social and cultural changes" (Woodward 1997, cited in Moita-Lopes 2006: 289). This conception originated in psychology and spread into such disciplines as cultural studies, sociology, anthropology and linguistics fields, to name a few. The psychologist Erik Erikson considers identity a term that denotes "both a persistent sameness within oneself (self-sameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others" (Erikson 1968, cited in Isaacs 1974: 191). He emphasizes the process-oriented nature of identity formation in which he presumes "a process 'located' in the core of the individual and yet also in the core of his communal culture, a process which establishes, in fact, the identity of these two identities" (Erikson 1968, cited in Isaacs 1974: 192). Another earlier psychoanalyst, Erich Fromm, (1941, cited in Isaacs 1974: 194) acknowledged the importance for individuals to belong to social groups. Harold Isaacs (1974: 199) continues this idea in his article on group identity and distinguishes its following functions: sense of belongingness and the quality of self-esteem.

In cultural studies, Hall (1990) discusses two models of identity. "The first model assumes that there is some intrinsic and essential content to any identity which is defined by either a common origin or a common structure of experience or both" (Hall 1990, adapted in Grossberg 1996: 89). In contrast to this approach, the second

model "emphasizes the impossibility of such fully constituted, separate and distinct identities" and claims that "identities are always relational and incomplete, in process" (Hall 1990, adapted in Grossberg 1996: 89). Hall adopts the second model and treats identities as "points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us" (Hall 1996: 6).

These two models can be reflected in the discussion of modernist and postmodernist approaches to identity. The modernist notion of identity is considered a static quality that an individual possesses. The static nature of identity does not allow for change; it is viewed as an inner quality that is not influenced by the outside world. Such an approach, although interesting, is not useful for this research because the focus of the current study is on the process of immigration. Immigration is a very important change in lives of people, and it inevitably involves a reassessment of situations and values and sometimes difficulties of self-identification. This is reflected in the way identity is negotiated and constructed by the immigrants in their discourse. Therefore, treating identity as a stable inner state does not address the purpose of this study, which is to unveil the multiplicity of identities emerging in the discourse of the representatives from the Russian-speaking community. Postmodernist views correspond better with the purpose of this research.

Postmodernism challenges the idea of stable identity and treats identity as constructed and negotiated, as well as inseparable from social practices. Postmodernist ideas gave way to social constructionism, and an increased focus on the social aspects of identity formation.

The theorists of this group of thought claim that "identities are not 'given', but constructed in social interaction" (Jansz 1997: 264). Underlining the dynamic nature of identity, social constructionism views it as open to change; "when social context

change over lifetime, new elements may be assimilated, thus contributing to a reconstruction of identity" (Jansz 1997: 264). Postmodernists often refer to 'overlapping identities' pointing to that fact that "the self is simultaneously connected to a number of different identity discourses and resides within overlapping identities" (Monk 2005: 81). Shotter (1990: 19) states that "although the postmodern self may be something of a mosaic, no self is completely an island. In postmodern everyday life, as well as in postmodern science, one occupies a multiplicity of standpoints."

The current study's focus is on the mosaic and multiplicity of identities. Present research understands social identity as an umbrella concept. Social identity has been studied by various researchers; however, most often this concept is connected with the name of Tajfel who developed a theory of social identity. Tajfel defines his theory of social identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel 1981: 255, cited in De Fina 2003: 15). The present research, however, sees social identity not as a 'self-concept', but as a 'construction' underlining the process and situatedness in the construction and negotiation of identities.

Focusing on social identity in general, this research investigates the construction and negotiation of various memberships and belongings of Russian-speaking immigrants. These memberships include: ethnicity, nation, family, and the immigrant community of Canada, particularly the Russian-speaking community population. However, the primary attention in this research is given to the concept of ethnic identity.

According to Spink, definitions of ethnic identity include concepts of acculturation, social identity, diversity, prejudice and self-concept (Spink 1999: 9).

Though there is no one agreed-upon definition, Spink suggests that "ethnic identity includes a sense of belonging to a group whose members have similar ethnic origins, language, culture, beliefs and traditions" (Spink 1999: 9). Driedger (1978: 15) discusses six ethnic identification factors: "identification with ecological territory; identification with an ethnic culture; identification with ethnic institutions; identification with historical symbols; identification with an ideology; and identification with charismatic leadership". The main components of ethnic identity, according to Phinney (1991: 194) include: "self-identification as a group member; attitudes and evaluations relative to one's group; attitudes about oneself as a group member; extent of ethnic knowledge and commitment; and ethnic behaviours and practices".

A different view on the definition of ethnic identity is proposed by the sociologist Miri Song (2003). She adopts the definition given by Joane Nagel (1994), who views ethnic identities as "the result of a dialectical process involving internal and external opinions and processes, as well as the individual's self-identification and outsiders' ethnic designation" (cited in Song 2003: 41). According to the constructionist perspective ethnic identities are "not given, fixed, or unchanging, but continually evolving products of material and social circumstances and of the actions of groups themselves, wrestling with, interpreting, and responding to those circumstances, building or transforming identities in the process" (Cornell 2000: 42).

Stephan and Stephan (2000) view ethnic identity as subjective, unstable and reciprocal. According to them, ethnic identity is subjective because "it is not simply the consequence of cultural exposure or biological heritage; one can identify with a group in the absence of in-depth information regarding the group or experience with the group", and also because "individuals may be biological members of a group

without identifying themselves as members due to lack of cultural exposure" (Stephan and Stephan 2000: 229). Ethnic identity is unstable because it may vary from situation to situation, and reciprocal because it depends upon "both the individual's and other's identification of the individual as a member of an ethnic groups" (Stephan and Stephan 2000: 230). One of the main functions of social identity that can be applied to ethnic identity, which is identified by both social identity theory and social categorization theory, states that "the process of categorizing oneself as an ingroup member and others as outgroup members create and maintains attitudinal and behavioral distinctions favoring the ingroup. Social identity theorists argue that the function of this ingroup favoritism is maintenance or enhancement of the self-esteem" (Stephan and Stephan 2000: 239).

The concepts of negotiated and constructed nature of identity and the identity mosaic of postmodernism give rise to the importance of the study of language in its connection with identity. The constructed and negotiated nature of identities gives vital importance to the linguistic studies of how identities are constructed, and how their multiplicity is revealed in language. Due to the fact that certain aspects of identity can be relevant at particular points in interaction, it is important to be able to identify the situations in which a certain aspect of identity might come to the foreground.

2.1.1.2. Linguistic Approaches to Identity

The relationship between language and identity is reciprocal; while language usage influences the formation of identity, identity influences language use as well (Gudykunst and Schmidt 1987: 157). Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), in their book *Negotiating Identities in Multilingual Contexts*, describe three main types of approaches to the study of identity negotiation in multilingual contexts:

sociopsychological approaches, interactional sociolinguistic approaches and poststructuralist approaches.

Sociopsychological approaches have grown out of Tajfel's (1974, 1981) theory of social identity and Berry's (1980) theory of acculturation. Research that adopts these methods of approaching the issues of identity negotiation usually treats language and identity in a one-to-one correlation. According to this approach, language is viewed as the most salient marker of ethnic identity and group membership; an individual speaking a particular language is supposed to strongly identify with that group. This approach views ethnic identity as "a subjective feeling of belongingness to a particular ethnic group" (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 4). Additionally, such research views the process of negotiation of identities as a process in which they assert, modify and define their self-images. Giles and Byrne (1982) have developed a 'theory of ethnolinguistic identity' using Tajfel's framework, which sees language as an identity and membership marker. The main weakness of this approach, according to its critics, is its oversimplification and its monolingual and monocultural bias (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 5). The usage of a particular language may not necessarily be a salient marker of the speaker's ethnic identity.

Interactional sociolinguistic approaches mostly deal with the negotiation of identities by means of code-switching and language choice. The most notable authors who investigate these means of identity construction are Gumperz (1982), Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985). The proponents of this approach view identities "as fluid and constructed in linguistic and social interaction" (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 8). Myers-Scotton (1998) has, on the other hand, developed a markedness model that explains negotiation of identities through code-switching. Criticism aimed at these approaches is mostly concerned with using identity as the only explanation for

linguistic choices, and the links between languages on one hand and national and regional groups on the other which ignore that individuals may be influenced by other memberships as well (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 9).

The champions of the poststructuralist approaches are Gal (1989), Heller (1992, 1995) and Woollard (1985), who consider "language choices in multilingual contexts as embedded in larger social political, economic, and cultural systems" (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 10). These approaches draw their inspiration from Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) work treating language as symbolic capital and as a source of economic and social benefits. The representatives of this approach view identity as being constructed and negotiated in the discourse. In this framework five characteristics of identities are important to note: "1) location within particular discourse and ideologies of language; 2) embeddedness within the relations of power; 3) multiplicity, fragmentation and hybridity; 4) the imagined nature of 'new' identities; 5) location within particular narratives" (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 14). Poststructuralist researchers do not limit themselves exclusively to analyzing code-switching, but also employ discourse analysis.

Methodologically, the main frameworks that researchers of identity draw from are Conversation Analysis (CA) (Schegloff and Sacks 1977), which focuses on identity in interaction and group memberships, as well as Discourse Analysis (DA) and in particular Critical Discourse Analysis (Wodak et al 1999) that concentrate on identity construction in narratives.

Conversation analysts approach identity as enacted and negotiated. According to them, identity is a process "emerging in interactional circumstances" and "with no substantial existence outside the local interactional context" (De Fina 2003: 17-18). Thus, CA focuses on "co-construction and negotiation of identities as

accomplishments within talk-in-interaction" (De Fina 2003: 18). One of the studies that adopt this approach was conducted by Kesselheim (2002). In this study, he researches the construction of Argentinean national identity among the Argentine school teachers with the help of conversational analysis (Kesselheim 2002). Johnson uses conversational analysis (2006) for researching teacher identities. CA is also used by Liebscher (2000) in her study of positioning in German talk-shows, and by Hansell and Seebrook Ajirotutu (1982) in their study of interaction in interethnic settings.

Another interactional approach to the study of identity is membership categorization analysis. This approach pays attention to the "situated and reflexive use of categories in everyday and institutional interaction" and is based on the notion of a "membership categorization device, which explains how categories may be hearably linked together by native speakers of a culture" (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 38). Bucholtz and Hall (2005) propose an approach to the study of identity in interaction that takes into account the following five principles: the emergence principle which treats identity as the "emergent product"; the positionality principle according to which "identity encompasses (a) macro-level demographic categories, (b) local, ethnographically specific cultural positions, and (c) temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles"; the indexicality principle which views identity as being "linguistically indexed through labels, implicatures, stances, styles"; the relationality principle according to which "identities are relationally constructed through several, often overlapping, aspects of the relationship between self and other"; and the partialness principle (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 585, 592).

There are a variety of studies that adopt the interactional approaches of researching identity. One such study was conducted by Hadden and Lester (1978). These authors adopt the member categorization analysis to point out the

constructedness of self-identifying and other-identifying processes in interaction. Membership categorization analysis is also employed by Koole and Hanson (2002) in their study of Moroccan identity in a multi-ethnic class in the Netherlands.

A different framework for the study of identity is represented by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). According to this approach, "identity is constituted in the grammar of language, both at the level of representation, [and] in terms of the relationship between text and reader or conversational participants" (Fairclough 1989, adapted in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 44). The two key assumptions of CDA are that "the analysis should be based on a close engagement with the language of texts" and that "language is a context-bound and social phenomenon and can be properly understood only by paying due attention to the social and cultural contexts in which it occurs" (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 44). An example of a CDA approach to identity is the study of Austrian national identity by Ruth Wodak (1999), who distinguishes various discourse strategies and their linguistic realization via personal, spatial and temporal references (Wodak et al. 1999: 35). Another Critical Discourse Analysis study was conducted among residents on the Polish-German border by Meinhof and Galasinski (2005), who discuss the linguistic means by which a feeling of belonging can be expressed through discourse, while another by Galasinska (2006) studies discursive construction, ethnicity, and negotiation of Polishness on the border with Germany. One of the particular findings of this research was a clash between the informants' declared identity, and the construction of their Polishness. This was viewed by the researcher as a clash between two ideologies – the lived ideology and intellectual ideology.

Narrative analysis is another approach to the study of identity that has recently been adopted by numerous researchers of identity. This approach cannot be easily

defined but, broadly speaking, "narrative analysts argue that we live in a 'story-telling society' through which we make sense of our lives and the events that happen in it" (Denzin 2000, adapted in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 42). The roots of narrative analysis lie in literary theory, sociolinguistics, psychology and anthropology. The proponents of this approach argue that through storytelling, "narrators can produce 'edited' description and evaluations of themselves and others, making identity aspects more salient at certain points in the story than others" (Georgakopoulou 2002, adapted in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 42-43).

Closely connected with the narrative approach to identity study is the concept of positioning, which examines the identity construction between the speaker and the audience. The concept of 'positioning' was first introduced by Hollway (1984: 236), who argued that "discourses make available positions for subjects to take up. These positions are in relation to other people". According to Harrè and Langenhove (1991: 395) the concept of positioning can be understood as the "discursive construction of personal stories that makes a person's actions intelligible and relatively determinate as social acts and within which the members of the conversation have specific locations". They also distinguish between self-positioning and other-positioning.

One of the major studies to adopt the narrative approach to identity analysis is the study of the narratives of undocumented Mexican immigrants in the United States, conducted by De Fina (2003). She offers a detailed analysis of how "migrants construct and negotiate their identities amidst omnipresent and at times oppressive discourses of race, ethnicity, and class" (Pomerantz 2007: 146). Georgakopoulou (2002: 427) employs a narrative analysis of "discourse identities management in the course of a conversational tale of tomorrow constructed by 3 Greek female adolescents". A traditional approach to the study of narratives is adopted by Pavlenko

(2004) in her study of narrative identity construction in autobiographies (memoirs) of American first-generation immigrants of different origins who discuss the story of their assimilation. Holmes (2006) investigates the narrative construction of professional identity at the workplace, and Baynham (2006) researches the narratives of migration and settlement among Moroccan migrants in the UK. Another interesting research within the narrative tradition was conducted by Schiff and Noy (2006), in which they investigate the relevance of shared meanings in the stories of personal identity constructed among Holocaust survivors.

In the next section of this thesis linguistic means of identity construction used by the various studies are discussed, and their relevance for the current research of discursive identities of Russian-speaking immigrants is addressed.

2.1.2. Linguistic Means of Identity Construction

2.1.2.1 Referential Expressions and Pronouns

Although language plays a very important role in the identity construction, it should be mentioned that the linguistic phenomena that are linked to the construction of identity are text-bound, and should only be used for qualitative reading of texts. Meinhof and Galasinski (2004: 18) discuss construction of ethnic identity and warn that "the lexico-grammatical form used to construct ethnicity is also part of such context and cannot be seen outside it".

A similar stance is taken by De Fina (2003) who underscores that "focus on linguistic phenomena does not imply that identities are directly related to linguistic choices" and argues that "identities emerge through the interplay between linguistic choices, rhetorical and performance strategies in the representation of particular story worlds, and the negotiation of such representations in the interactional world" (De Fina 2003: 24). In her work, she identifies three different levels of analysis: lexical,

textual/pragmatic, and interactional. The lexical level of analysis of identity is of particular interest to the current qualitative study.

In her research of Austrian national identity, Wodak (1999: 35) identifies the following linguistic means for the expression of belonging: personal reference, in which she has included "anthroponymic generic terms, personal pronouns and quantifiers"; spatial reference, including "toponyms/geonyms, adverbs of place, and special reference through persons (by means of prepositional phrases such as 'with us', 'with them')"; and temporal reference as represented by "temporal prepositions, adverbs of time, temporal conjunctions, temporal references by means of nouns, [and] semi-prefixes with temporal meaning". This framework is adopted by Meinhof and Galasinski (2004), who in their book *The Language of Belonging* discuss different linguistic means by which the feeling of belonging can be expressed in discourse.

Personal pronouns play an important role as referential expressions, and have been of interest to researchers for a long time. A significant amount of research has been conducted on pronouns in different languages, including Russian, especially on the first person plural pronoun due to its ability to align the speaker with members of different groups. Brown and Gilman (1972) discuss the pronouns in terms of power and solidarity, as they claim that "choices within the system of pronouns of address are associated with the perceived roles of the speaker and hearer as they locate themselves on continuums of status and solidarity" (adapted in Maitland and Wilson 1987: 495). Maitland and Wilson use this insight of Brown and Gilman's to research the speeches of politicians in order to identify their pronominal choice for the sake of expressing solidarity with particular ideological views.

Pronouns are also very important for the study of identity. De Fina (2003: 52) draws upon pronominal choice in her research of the narrative identities of

undocumented Mexican immigrants in the United States, and discusses "how pronominal alternations are used by speakers to express and negotiate specific identities in a diversity of interactional contexts and genres". She identifies the following functions of pronoun alternation: "expressing distancing, involvement, or solidarity with topics and participants, and conveying responsibility or lack of it" (De Fina 2003: 53). She stresses the importance of the pronouns in narration as a means of expressing membership in a group, responsibility in the performance of actions or lack of participation in them, as well as relationship between the narrator and other participants of conversation.

2.1.2.2. Deixis

The deictic nature of pronouns as referential expressions accounts for their particular significance in the studies of identities. In their definition of deixis, Grenoble and Riley (1996) adopt the approach proposed by Garćia (1975) who defines deixis as: "the force with which the hearer is instructed to find the referent" (cited in Grenoble and Riley 1996: 822). Grenoble and Riley argue that deixis can play a role in the "identity of interlocutors (person deixis); their locations (place deixis); [the] time at which the communicative act takes place (sending and receiving time): the matrix of the linguistic material within which the utterance has a role (discourse deixis), and [the] social relationships of speaker and hearer (social deixis)" (Grenoble and Riley 1996: 820-21). Discussing in particular the deictic pair 'this' and 'that', they stress the importance of proximal versus distal relation with respect to the speaker or some other reference point, which can also be used "metaphorically to signal the speaker's emotional or attitudinal distance" (Grenoble and Riley 1996: 822). Research into the functions of deixis has been undertaken by Kresin (1998: 421), in which she discusses

how deixis can be used by the speaker to "influence the addressee's interpretation of the discourse".

An analysis of deixis is employed by Liebscher (2000) in her study of positioning in German talk-shows. She investigates positioning with the help of the deictical referential expressions 'we/they' and 'here/now'. In this study, she defines deictics as "a group of words whose referents always change with the setting" (Liebscher 2000: 189).

The deictic nature of the first person plural pronoun has been analyzed from different perspectives by various linguists. Johannes Helmbrecht (2002), for instance, discusses grammar and functions of 'we', particularly its inclusive and exclusive functions. These functions let the speaker linguistically express whether the addressee is a member of the "we-group" or not. Therefore, the first person plural pronoun's inclusive/exclusive function represents one of the means of membership categorization, and is "intrinsically connected to the linguistic establishment of social groups" (Helmbrecht 2002: 42). Helmbrecht (2002: 42) also discusses the typology of 'we', and mentions that this pronoun, although grammatically the same in most languages, can be used to define such different groups as we-nation, we-family, we-village and others. If these functions of 'we' are analyzed from the solidarity point of view, it can be logically concluded that inclusive function of 'we' is used to express solidarity as well as membership in a particular social group.

Boris Norman (2002) investigates the deictic nature of the Russian personal pronouns. In his paper the "Russian Pronoun '*my*': Internal Drama", Norman discusses the different meanings of this pronoun and claims that the first person plural pronoun represents a so-called *sovokupnyi sub"ekt* (joint subject) wherein 'we' consists of two elements: 'I' and 'someone else.' He posits that the meaning of "we"

is mostly dependent on the second component. In this article, Norman gives several examples of possible meanings, which include: "I+someone who is a member of my family"; "I+someone who has the same citizenship, nationality", "I+someone with whom I work", and others (Norman 2002: 229-30).

Riita Pyykkö (2002) researches the meanings of 'we' in Russian political discourse. Apart from the basic meanings of the pronoun discussed at the beginning of the article, Pyykkö distinguishes between several complex deictic meanings of 'we' that are more representative of the political discourse. These meanings are: a 'we of community' which is used to create "a sense of community and consensus" (Pyykkö 2002: 235); a collective 'we' which refers to the people sharing common interests and beliefs; and an opposition 'us – them' which serves to identify 'us' and separate 'us' from 'them' (Pyykkö 2002: 235-39). Although these meanings of the pronoun are, according to Pyykkö, most representative of political discourse, they seem to be quite appealing to the discussion of discourses of identity.

2.1.3. Research in this Study

The present study concentrates primarily on the analysis of interviews, focusing on deictic referential expressions. The definition proposed by Liebscher is adopted here. According to Liebscher, deictics "are a group of words whose referents always change with the setting" (Liebscher 2000: 189). The deictics analyzed in this study include *my* 'we' – *oni* 'they', *zdes'* 'here' – *tam* 'there', *seichas* 'now' – *togda* 'then', and *etot* 'this' – *tot* 'that'. These deictic expressions can be further classified, using a simplified version of Wodak's classification, into: personal reference, spatial reference and temporal reference (Wodak et al. 1999: 35). This study, while using Liebscher's definition of deictics, also adopts Wodak's classification of deictic expressions for use in the analysis of interviews. These references are analyzed in

relation to their role in the discursive construction of self-images and those of local Canadians by immigrants and immigrants' self-positioning in relation to their country of their origin as well as in relation to Canada. The term 'local Canadians' is used to refer to those people who were born and raised in Canada.

The preceding paragraphs addressed different approaches to the notion of identity. More specifically, special attention was given to the linguistic studies of identity and the strategies these studies employ in their research.

2.2. Methodology

This section outlines the rationale of the study, including its general framework, the corpus of the study, and the data used for the analysis. More specifically, the participants in the study and their recruitment are discussed as well as the methods of data collection, with a specific emphasis on the research instruments and methods of data analysis.

2.2.1. Rationale of the Study

The present study investigates the discursive construction of identity by Russian-speaking immigrants, and explores these immigrants' discursive self-images, their portrayal of local Canadians, and their self-positioning in relation to their country of origin as well as in relation to Canada.

Understanding immigrants' identity construction is important in understanding the general trends of a particular immigrant community in a multicultural society, and their views about themselves as members of the new society. It is important for two major reasons: 1) understanding the particular difficulties that an immigrant community might face will help when addressing these difficulties; 2) understanding these difficulties can help new immigrants more readily adapt to their new environment.

The Russian-speaking community was chosen due to a lack of the research in this area, as well as due to the personal interests of the researcher. The Russian-speaking community in Edmonton is of particular interest because it is primarily recent and represents a very heterogeneous population. The fact that this community is quite new and heterogeneous is essential for this research as it shows the immigrants at different stages of their adaptation, where their identities might still be

unstable, changing and developing. Thus, the postmodernist approach to identity is relevant to this research.

The goal of the study is to determine: 1) how are the self-images of Russian-speaking immigrants and the images of local Canadians by Russian-speaking immigrants constructed through their discourse? 2) what role does ethnic identity play in the construction of these images? and 3) how do the members of Russian-speaking community position themselves in their discourse in relation to their country of origin as well as in relation to Canada?

2.2.2. Participants of the Study

2.2.2.1. Recruitment of the Participants for the Study

The participants for the study were recruited from the Russian-speaking community in Edmonton. Initially, a few Russian-speaking community organizations were contacted (see Appendix 3: Sample of the Solicitation Letter sent to the community organizations), as well as some immigrant agencies. I was invited to a few gatherings (meeting of the executives, and picnics) at one of the organizations, where I had the opportunity to talk about my project and to recruit participants. Moreover, a number of posters were hung in community organizations, Russian schools, Russian food stores, and immigrant agencies (Appendix 4: Sample of the Poster). Also, 'a snowball method' of recruitment was used. Interviewed participants were asked to contact people that they thought might be interested in participating in the research. Overall, my impression of people's willingness of participating in the research was very favourable. Most of the people with whom I personally spoke agreed to participate. I also received a number of phone calls from the people who had seen the posters in Russian stores and schools. The process of interviewing the participants took approximately three months, from Mid-June to Mid-September 2007.

2.2.2.2. Description of the Participants

I was able to recruit fifteen participants for this research. Five of them were women, and ten were men. Such gender imbalance is irrelevant and finding the equal balance of both male and female participants is not necessary for this qualitative research, as its aim is to provide an insight into the multiplicity of self-perceptions and other-positioning present in the Russian-speaking community and not to make a gender comparison. The uneven gender distribution could also have been a result of the 'snowball method' of data collection.

Table 2 represents the general characteristics of the Russian-speaking respondents of this study, which was received from questionnaires (see Appendix 2).

Table 2: Russian-Speaking Participants of the Study	
Average Age	39.5 years
Post-Secondary Education	100%
Average Length of Stay in Canada	8 years
Percentage of Time Speaking Russian	38 %
Percentage of Russian-Speaking Friends	65 %
Percentage of English-Speaking Friends[6]	32 %
Members of Russian-Speaking Community Organizations	8 participants

As it can be seen from the table, the average age of the participants is about 40 years. The youngest participant is 21 and the oldest is 52 years old. All of the research participants have college or university education; however, the location of their

[6] Only 13 out of 15 participants mentioned this category. Therefore, the data are based on the answers from 13 participants. Among the remaining two, one of the participants did not mention English-speaking friends at all, while the second participant studied in Europe and mentioned friends from the Netherlands (not clear which languages was used for communication with them).

education differs. As Figure 1 shows, eight out of fifteen participants completed college education in their respective countries. Five participants received their higher education in both Canada and in their home countries, and only one participant, who was in high school when his parents migrated to Canada, received his college education in Canada. One more child of immigrants, who was quite young when her parents migrated, studied at a university in Europe.

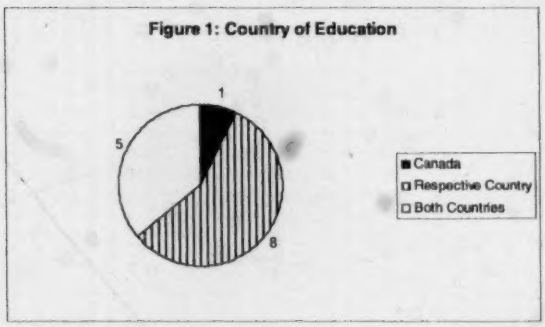


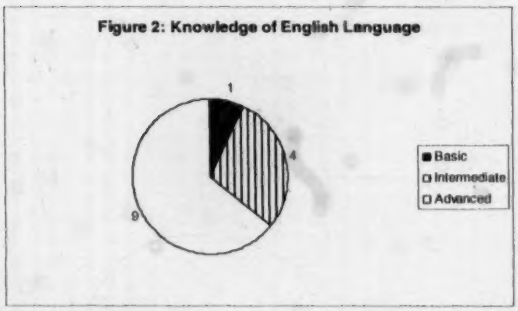
Table 2 shows that the average length of respondents' stay in Canada is eight years. It ranges from 3.5 to 16 years. 38 % of the time (on average) the respondents speak Russian in Canada. This includes mostly communication with friends and family who also live in Canada as well as communication over the phone with friends and family living in the country of origin. For the remaining time they speak English, mostly in the workplace and with other friends. On average, about 65% of the participants' friends are Russian-speaking[7] while about 32 % are English-speaking (see Footnote 6). Eight of fifteen participants belong to Russian-speaking community organizations.

Occupationally, seven out of fifteen research participants (all male) are employed in technical and business fields, such as engineering, computer programming, construction, and accounting. Also, one of the participants (female) is a homemaker; one (male) is a driver, and one (female) a salesperson. Two of the

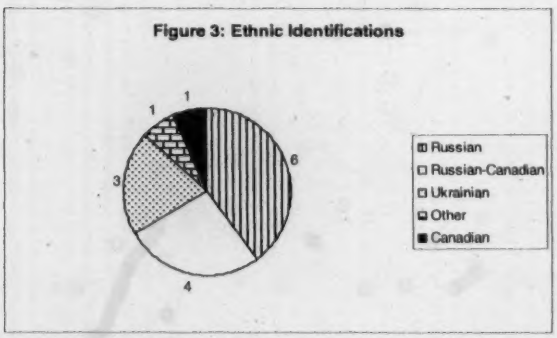
[7] This includes primarily friends who also live in Canada, but does not exclude Russian-speaking friends in the respondents' countries of origin.

respondents (female) are students and three more (two males and one female) are university employees.

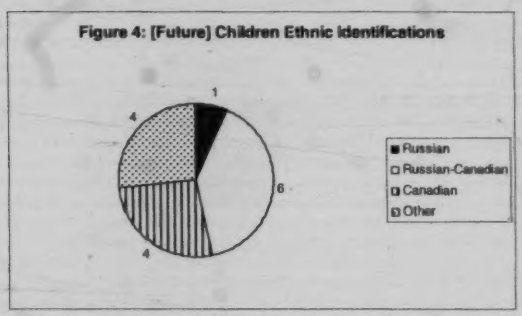
The level of English language skills, which were rated by the respondents themselves, varies as well. Figure 2 shows that nine out of fifteen respondents claim that they have advanced English language proficiency. Four rate their knowledge of English language as intermediate, and only one out of fifteen considers his English proficiency to be basic. One of the participants rated his knowledge of English between intermediate and advanced. However, it must be noted here that these are the personal evaluations of the participants, and they do not necessarily reflect actual language knowledge.



A very interesting variable that will be addressed in more detail in the discussion section of the analysis chapter is the participants' perception of their ethnic identity. In short, as illustrated in Figure 3, six out of fifteen participants consider themselves Russian. Four respondents adopt a hyphenated identity and consider themselves Russian-Canadian. Three of the respondents are Ukrainians, while one considers himself to be a Canadian who happened to be born in Russia. One of the participants chose the 'other' option, but did not specify what this implied. However, from the interview it became clear that he considered himself Jewish.



Even more interesting is to see what ethnicity they consider their [future] children to be. As can be seen from Figure 4, only one participant considers her future children to be Russian, while six think their children are/will be Russian-Canadian, and four think that they will be Canadian. Among the 'other' category, such responses occur as: it depends on the future spouse; it is up to children to decide.



These two variables are discussed in more detail in the chapter dealing with the analysis of the data, while in the next sections the methods of data collection and methods of data analysis are discussed.

2.2.3. Methods of Data Collection and Research Instruments

2.2.3.1. Interviews

Two methods were employed for data collection. Firstly, interviews were conducted with participants. The length of interviews ranged from 15 to 65 minutes. According to ethics regulations, each participant had the process and goals of the research explained before the interview, and was asked to read and sign a consent form (Appendix 5: Sample Consent Form). During this briefing, the linguistic nature of the research was underlined. The participants were informed that their language is the primary focus of the analysis. However, no specific linguistic means were mentioned before the interview, because it could have made the participants too conscious about their speech. However, if a participant expressed willingness to know the analysed words, he/she was given this information after the interview was over. During this pre-interview briefing, special emphasis was also put on the voluntary nature of

participation in the research, and on the fact that the participants could withdraw from the research at any time, if they so wished.

All interviews were conducted in Russian and were recorded with the help of a voice recording device. Later they were transcribed. Interviews had an open-ended format, and some of the issues addressed during the interviews included: reasons for migrating to Canada, the adaptation period upon arrival, the level of satisfaction with life in Canada and with the decision to migrate, the importance of preserving native culture and language, and the problems that the participants face in daily life in Canada. Before the interviews, an interview guide (Attachment 1) was prepared by the researcher. It included the topics that might be addressed during the interview as well as some specific questions. However, it should be noted that the format was not very strict and that not all of the participants were asked exactly the same questions. Although the topics that were addressed during interviews were the same, the format sometimes deviated as participants talked about their personal experience. The topics that were chosen for the interviews were carefully selected by the researcher. The goal was to elicit the participants' self-perception and perception of others, to see how the participants linguistically construct their identity and position themselves in relation to Canada, Canadians, and their respective countries.

The researcher was not only an interviewer, but also a participant in conversations. As a Russian speaker herself who is currently living in Canada, the researcher shares some cultural background with the participants and could relate to their experiences. This was especially helpful in making the participants more comfortable in sharing their personal stories. Many respondents asked the researcher to address them with informal 'you'[8] thus, according to Brown and Gilman (1972),

[8] Russian distinguishes between formal 'you' (*Vy*) and informal 'you' (*ty*).

signalling their solidarity and acceptance of the researcher as a person with whom they have something is common.

2.2.3.2. Questionnaires

Interviews were followed by a questionnaire (Attachment 2) which was also conducted in Russian. The goals of this questionnaire were to collect some background information about the participants and to ask them, once again, to address some of the topics discussed during the interview. The goal was to make participants elaborate on these topics and to express them in writing. As far as the background information is concerned, the following issues were addressed: age, education, level of English proficiency, native language, amount of time spent in Canada, frequency of speaking Russian, percentage of Russian-speaking friends vs. English-speaking friends, ethnic identification of the participants and their [future] children, and membership in the Russian-speaking community organizations. Some of the issues included the participants' own evaluation of their skills (e.g. English language proficiency) and perceptions of themselves. These evaluations are sufficient for the current study as they reflect the participants' perception of themselves, which is the primary goal of the research.

The questionnaire was conducted after the interview so that participants could concentrate primarily on the interview. This was especially important with those participants who had limited time, as it was essential that they did not hurry through the interview since linguistic data were gathered. Also, the questionnaire had some similar questions as the interview did, whose aim was to sum up the participants' thoughts on a particular topic. Therefore, it was logical to conduct the questionnaire after the interview.

2.2.3.3. Rationale for Conducting Interviews and Questionnaires

The interviews and questionnaires seemed to be the most suitable methods for the current research for the following reasons: 1) an interview, in contrast with an observation, gives the researcher control over the topics discussed and the opportunity to direct the conversation; 2) the interviewer can pose specific questions to trigger the interviewee's identity construction; 3) a questionnaire is a convenient method of collecting necessary background information, as well as a tool for participants to declare ethnic identification. In the case of this particular study, the questionnaires are analyzed and the declared identities are then compared to the identities constructed by the participants during interviews. An interview setting has the disadvantage of not being a very natural environment, and participants may not feel as completely relaxed as in day-to-day conversation. However, this disadvantage does not play a very important role in the current research, because the practice shows that after some time (specifically when asked a personal question) the participants tend to forget about the formality of the situation.

2.2.4. Methods of Data Analysis

2.2.4.1. Transcription

Prior to the analysis, all interviews were transcribed. A fairly broad discourse transcription of the interviews is used, because analysis of the interviews focuses on the linguistic means of discursive construction of identities, and not the issues of conversational analysis. Transcription includes the most basic transcription information, such as: the words and by whom they are spoken, the division of the stream of speech into turns and intonation units (represented by sentences in transcription), long pauses, laughter, uncertain hearings, and indecipherable words.

Specific attention is given to the deictic expressions, discussed below. Those are specially marked in each interview transcript.

2.2.4.2. Theoretical Framework: Approach to Analysis

This study investigates the discursive construction and negotiation of identity and views it as "the linguistic construction of membership in one or more social groups or categories" (Kroskrity 1999: 111, cited in De Fina 2003: 15). As ethnic identity in particular is central to this research, it has been approached from the similar postmodern perspective and, building of the definition of ethnic identity provided by Spink (1999), this study defines ethnic identity as the linguistic construction of belonging to a group whose members have similar ethnic origins, language, culture, beliefs and traditions. Thus, this research emphasizes the importance of language in the process of identity construction.

This study adopts discourse analysis as a methodological framework and focuses on the linguistic means of discursive identity construction in interviews. A very detailed classification of the linguistic means of identity construction is proposed by Wodak (1999). She classifies all these means into personal reference, spatial reference and temporal reference. Personal reference, according to Wodak, includes anthroponymic generic terms, personal pronouns, and quantifiers. Spatial reference is represented by toponyms/geonyms, adverbs of place, spatial reference through persons, prepositional phrases such as 'with us', 'with them'. Finally, temporal reference is comprised by temporal prepositions, adverbs of time, temporal conjunctions, temporal references by means of nouns, and semi-prefixes with temporal meaning (Wodak 1999: 35).

As the current study is particularly interested in the role that deictic expressions play in the linguistic construction of identities, the abovementioned

classification, proposed by Wodak, has been adapted for the purposes of this research. This adaptation includes its simplification, according to which each category is represented by only one pair of deictic expressions. This study approaches deictic expressions as expressions that change their referents according to the situation. More specifically, personal reference in this study is represented by the deictic pair of personal pronouns *my* 'we' – *oni* 'they'; spatial reference by the deictic pair of adverbs of place *zdes'/ tut* 'here'[9] – *tam* 'there'; and temporal reference by the deictic pair of adverbs of time *seichas* 'now' – *togda* 'then'. Also, one more deictic pair, not mentioned in the Wodak's classification, is added for the purposes of this particular study. The deictic pair of demonstrative pronouns *etot* 'this' – *tot* 'that' is included for its particular importance in distinguishing between the proximal versus distal relation of the speaker towards another reference point. This pair is of particular importance for the analysis of immigrants' positioning towards their country of origin (see examples 39-41) or towards Canada (see examples 31 and 33). This deictic pair can be used to express personal, spatial, or temporal reference, and therefore occupies a special position among the other deictic pairs in this research.

Personal reference (deictic personal pronouns 'we' and 'they') helps the participants position themselves and others as members of some groups and non-members of other groups. This inclusion in some and exclusion from other groups helps to answer the first two research questions, about the different self-images of participants and their positioning of others, as they emerge in the discourse. The following self-images of the participants reflecting the multiplicity and mosaic of their identities have been discovered during the analysis: family, Russian-speaking

[9] Two Russian equivalents for English 'here' (*zdes'* and *tut*) do not represent significant difference in their meaning or usage that can be of importance for this study.

immigrant community, former Soviet citizens, residents of Canada, residents of a respective country of origin, and people unified by culture, ethnicity, and language.

Spatial reference is formed by the locative-deictic adverbs which stress reference to the place (deictic pair 'here' and 'there'). They can also be used to refer to conceptual social space. These adverbs help to answer the last research question about the participants' positioning of themselves in relation to their country of origin, as well as in relation to Canada.

And, finally, temporal reference (the deictic adverbs of time, 'now' and 'then') stresses references to time, past and present. Its metaphorical reference to what the participants consider past and what they consider present helps in answering questions about the participants' self-positioning in relation to their country of origin and in relation to their new adopted country.

2.2.5. Structure of the Analysis

Analysis of the research is based on the interview data and is divided in the following chapter into two main sections in order to address the research questions. The first section discusses the self-perceptions of the respondents through their various self-images uncovered during the analysis of interviews. The second section addresses the participants' perception of others. This section first analyzes the participants' perception of Canadians, and reflects their positioning towards Canada as a new country of residence. Later, participants' perceptions of the people from their country of origin, as well as their positioning towards that country, are addressed.

The chapter above discussed different approaches to the study of identity, and outlined the linguistic means of identity construction employed by these approaches. Methodological issues were also addressed, specifically the research participants, methods of data collection and methods of data analysis.

CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the analysis of the research data based in interviews is presented. The section is divided into two subsections in order to address the research questions posed at the beginning of this thesis. Firstly, the self-perceptions of the Russian-speaking immigrants are discussed through the images which the research participants draw upon in their discourse. Secondly, the participants' perceptions of others are analyzed. This section is divided into two parts: in the first part, the Russian-speaking participants' perceptions of Canadians and other immigrant ethnic groups in Canada are analyzed; and in the second part, participants' perceptions of the former fellow country people are addressed. Each part concludes with the discussion of the respective participants' positioning towards Canada as their new country of residence and towards their countries of origin (Belarus, Estonia, Russia, and Ukraine).

The original Russian examples are first given in a transliterated form using the US Library of Congress system and then translated into English. Attempt has been made to make translations as literal as possible. Translations, as well as transcriptions, include medium and long pauses and laughter. Some translations are supplemented with the researcher's comments on meanings of certain words or phrases when they are not clear from the English text[10].

3.2. Self-Perception of Russian-Speaking Immigrants in Edmonton

This section discusses the images that Russian-speaking immigrants draw from their discourses. These images, constructed by the use of the deictic first person plural pronoun *my* 'we', suggest the research participants' self-perceived membership in various social groups. The groups identified in the analysis are the following: family,

[10] For transcription conventions see Appendix 6.

Russian-speaking immigrant community, former Soviet citizens, residents of Canada, residents of the respective country of origin (Belarus, Estonia, Russia, or Ukraine), and members of a particular cultural, ethnic and/or linguistic group. Analysis of this last category of Russian-speaking immigrants is enhanced by the analysis of the participants' positioning towards their original culture and language with the help of deictic demonstrative pronouns *etot/tot* 'this/that'.

Image 1: Family

The images of the research participants as family members are the most numerous and important in this research. Family is often the only constant close support system to new immigrants. However, not all immigrants come to Canada with their families. Out of fifteen participants of this study, eleven came to Canada with their families and therefore the image as family members concerns only these participants. Among the deictics researched in this study, the first person plural pronoun *my* 'we' as used by the participants played a major role and was used 244 times to construct this image. Its usage signals participants' perception of themselves as family members.

Below please find examples that were given as answers to questions about the reasons for coming to Canada. The construction of the image as family members seems to be relevant when the reasons for the decision to migrate to Canada are discussed as well as the process of migration and first settlement in a new place. Firstly, consider the answer to the question about her decision to migrate to Canada, of a 52-year old female participant, employed at a university, who came to Canada from Ukraine seven years ago with her teenage son:

(1) *Uekhala, potomu chto nastal takoi period, kogda iavno bylo vidno, chto nuzhno chto-to meniat'. Meniat' ... meniat' v masshtabe strany – eto ne kazhdomu pod silu, a meniat' v masshtabe svoei sem'i (a) mne okazalos' pod silu. Vot poetomu* ***my*** *i reshili uekhat' ... imenno v Kanadu, potomu chto eto odna iz tekh stran, kotoraia na tot moment predlagala svobodnuiu immigratsiiu.*

I left because such a period had approached when it was clear that something had to be changed. To change ... to change on the scale of the country – not everyone can handle this, but to change on the scale of my own family (*a*) - that was something that seemed doable for me. Therefore **we** decided to leave … particularly to Canada because it was one of those countries that at that moment was offering free immigration.

As it can be seen from the example (1) above, when confronted with the question the speaker first talks about herself, but as she comes to the decision-making part of her answer she also includes other family members. The fact that deictic *my* 'we' in this example refers to family can be suggested by participant mentioning her family before in (1a): "but to change on the scale of my own family - that was something that seemed doable for me".

The next example was provided by a man who came to Canada from Ukraine via the United States with his wife. The 39-year old programmer who came to Canada nine years ago describes his feelings during the migration process:

(2) *Nu i ... bylo ochen' **nam** khorosho tak. U **nas** detei togda ne bylo, tol'ko papugai .. ia i Vika .. i podderzhivali **my** drug druga, bylo **nam** ochen' khorosho. Nikto **nam** .. na psikhologiiu ne davil, podruzhek ne bylo, druzei tozhe, roditeli tozhe daleko za okeanom .. i bylo **nam** ochen' khorosho.*

And so ... **we** felt really good. **We** did not have any children at that time, only a parrot .. Vika and I .. and **we** were supporting each other, **we** felt very good. No one pressured **us**, there were no friends, parents were also far across the ocean .. and **we** felt very good.

As in the previous example (1), the speaker in (2) uses the first person plural pronoun *my* 'we' to express his belonging to his family. Family for this participant includes himself and his wife. In this 'we' he does not include either of their parents or friends, or children who were born already in Canada. His extensive use of 'we' in (2) possibly signals the emotional significance of this participant's membership in this group. It seems that he is nostalgic for that time when that 'we' included only two members: his wife and himself.

In example (3), the participant of the study, a 41-year old homemaker who moved to Canada from Russia via Japan 3.5 years ago with her husband and two children, reflects upon coming to Canada with her family from Russia via Japan. She contrasts their life in Japan to life in Canada and compares it to their life back in Russia.

(3) *U **nas** byl takoi .. promezhutok, prichem, tak net u **nas** takoe rezkoe bylo izmenenie, a **seichas** (a) **my** ( ) na goru, a **seichas** (b) **my** tak blizhe k sebe. Takoe est' na samom dele, potomu chto **my** ved' raduemsia- oi, vesna takaia zhe, kakuiu **my** videli, oi, pakhnet tak, kak na rodine. **My** vozvrashchaemsia. U menia takoe oshchushchenie, chto **my** byli gde-to vot v komandirovke dlitel'noi.*

We had such a period of time, and also .. no we had such a drastic change, and **now** (*a*) **we** ( ) uphill, and **now** (*b*) **we** are so closer to our [home]. This is really what it is, because **we** are happy after all – oh! the same spring as **we** knew it, oh! it smells the same way as in homeland. **We** are coming back. I have an impression that **we** have been somewhere on a long business trip.

Example (3) is more complex that the previous examples (1)-(2). Here, along with the *my* 'we' pronouns showing a participant's belonging to a family unit, there are also time deictic *seichas* 'now' in (3a) and (3b) which refers to the present time viz. time in Canada in contrast to time spent in Japan. This deictic is used by the speaker not only as a simple reference to the present and past as time concepts, but it can also have a metaphorical meaning. Such metaphorical meanings of deictics and their contradiction with the physical time and space are particularly revealing in Liebscher's (2003) research of German TV talk-shows. This research has discovered 'a disjunction between the speakers' physical location and the social spaces denoted by deictics.' In example (3), the metaphorical time concept is not contradicting the physical time, but it still has a certain presence. According to the metaphorical meaning of the time reference *seichas* 'now', the speaker considers her life in Japan to be a stage of her life that is already over and to which she has already bid farewell. Her new life in Canada, on the other hand, is closer and more relevant to her. This

effect is intensified by her comparison of Canada with her home country. Time reference *seichas* 'now' demonstrate the positioning of the research participant's proximity towards their new place of residence.

As seen in examples (1)-(3), one of the images portrayed by the Russian-speakers in Edmonton is their belonging to a family unit. The linguistic means involved in participants' construction of this image is the deictic first person plural pronoun *my* 'we' (and its forms in Russian). In the last example (3) of this section, along with participants belonging to a family unit, their positioning towards Canada is touched upon. More linguistic means are involved in this positioning. To express proximal positioning towards Canada and positive feelings associated with this positioning the respondent in (3) utilizes the deictic time reference *seichas* 'now'.

As has been mentioned, the category of family is the most extensive. The great number of examples is not unexpected; family is the most important support system for immigrants in the new country and their first and most important membership, particularly in the case of family migration. Furthermore, the other images of Russian-speaking immigrants are reviewed; the next image discussed here is the Russian-speaking immigrant community.

Image 2: Russian-Speaking Immigrant Community

The self-perception of the research participants as members of the Russian-speaking community is considerably less numerous, but is also well-represented. Linguistically, this image is also constructed with the help of deictic first person plural pronoun *my* 'we', which was used 45 times by participants to express their membership in the Russian-speaking immigrant community.

Interestingly, while seeing themselves as members of a particular Russian-speaking community, Russian speakers who recently came to Canada distance

themselves from the Russian speakers of earlier immigration waves, as well as from those Russian speakers who do not participate in the life of the community.

In example (4), a 35-year old mechanic who came to Canada from Russia twelve years ago reflects about his perception of being different from other Canadians. By using the first person plural pronoun the speaker emphasizes his belonging to the first-generation Russian-speaking immigrants who very often face language barriers, that is, difficulties with English. Consider example (4):

(4) *Nu konechno kak by .. aa .. **nasha** problema v tom, chto .. u **nas** iazyk kak by .. neideal'nyi .. v pervom pokolenii (a). No eto opiat' zhe .. mozhno sovershenstvovat' i dostich' kak by .. urovnia iazyka kak u kanadtsev, khotia eto **nam** gorazdo slozhnee.*

But of course well .. aa .. **our** problem is that .. **our** language [English].. is not ideal .. in the first generation (*a*). But of course .. that can be improved and .. the level of the language that Canadians have can be reached, but it is much more difficult for **us**.

In (4) both the deictic possessive pronoun *nasha* 'our' and the deictic personal pronoun *my* 'we' (and their forms) are used by the speaker to construct membership in Russian-speaking immigrant community. Particularly, belonging to the first-generation immigrant community is emphasized in the first sentence in (4a). In the second sentence this idea is intensified by contrasting the community with those the speaker identifies as local Canadians.

A similar idea is echoed in an excerpt from a conversation with another speaker, as seen in (5). However in this case, the first-generation immigrants are united not only by the language difficulties, but also by their cultural difference from Canadians. The speaker here is a 45-year old programmer who came to Canada from Russia ten years ago with his family. In (5), emphasizing the importance of preserving cultural heritage by immigrants' children in his reflection of his ethnic identification, the participant also distances himself from the second-generation Russian speakers,

calling them Canadians with Russian roots and using the third person pronoun *oni* 'they' to refer to them:

(5) *Nu, skazhem tak, .. mm .. **my** ne mozhem .. vidimo pervoe pokolenie, kotoroe priezzhaet, ono v printsipe ne mozhet stat', skazhem, kanadskim russkim, potomu chto vse ravno ... kul'turnye traditsii - **my** vse ravno .. ottuda. **My** pomnim, kak tam bylo, potomu chto vse, chto zaviazyvaetsia v detstve, .. v obshchem-to, ochen' khorosho privia- [zyvaetsia]. Poetomu **my** staraemsia byt' kanadtsami, no ... svoi kul'turnye traditsii i tak dalee **my** pytaemsia podderzhivat' u sebia v sem'e. Skazhem. Aa .. kanadskie russkie -eto te, navernoe, uzhe vtoroe pokolenie, kotorye dai bog esli eshche mogut .. razgovarivat' po-russki, no **oni**, v obshchem-to, .. kanadtsy .. s russkimi korniami.*

Well, let's say that .. mm .. **we** can not .. apparently the first generation that comes here, in principle can't become, say, Russian Canadians, because in any case ... cultural traditions – **we** are anyway .. from there. **We** remember how it was there, because everything that starts in your childhood .. actually very well gets stu-[ck]. Therefore, **we** try to be Canadians, but … our own cultural traditions and so on **we** try to preserve in our family[11]. So to say. Aa.. Russian Canadians are those, I think, the second generation who let's hope can still .. say a few words in Russian, but **they** are basically .. Canadians .. with Russian roots.

As seen from the very first sentence of examples (5), the speaker defines what he means by deictic *my* 'we', that is first-generation Russian-speaking immigrants. This identification becomes even stronger by the end of the example, where the participant contrasts immigrants of the first generation with the second generation, to whom he refers using deictic *oni* 'they', excluding this part of Russian-speaking immigrant community from the group with which he identifies. This contrast has a distancing effect, according to which the speaker considers the second-generation Russians more Canadian than Russian about which he seems to sound slightly regretful (probably thinking about future generations of his own family). This distancing towards the second-generation Russians as being more Canadian obviously creates a more general distancing towards other Canadians.

[11] English possessive pronoun 'our' in 'our own cultural traditions' and in 'our family' is not analyzed, because it is present only in English translation. Russian equivalent here is the possessive pronoun *svoi*. Its meaning and translation (sometimes used in English with the adjective 'own') depends on the subject of the sentence.

Interestingly, as examples (6)-(7) demonstrate, besides distancing from the second-generation immigrants, who are considered to be 'true Canadians', distancing from other sectors of Russian speakers can be observed in conversations with the research participants. Very clear distancing towards immigrants who came to Canada significantly earlier than the respondents of this study can be observed both linguistically and contextually. For this study, linguistic distancing plays an especially important role.

In the next example, (6), proximal positioning is linguistically expressed with the help of the first person plural pronoun *my* 'we', through which the participant's self-perception as an immigrant who came to Canada during the last ten years is realized. At the same time the speaker, a 52-year old university employee from Ukraine, distances herself from Russian speakers who came to Canada much earlier with the help of the deictic third person plural pronouns *oni* 'they'. Example (6) is part of the answer to the question about traditional holidays that are still celebrated in the family of the respondent.

(6) *Vot ia dumaiu, chto vse russkogovoriashchie immigranty eto otmechaiut, nu, pozhalui, za iskliucheniem tekh, kto priekhal siuda 20 let i ran'she.* ***Oni*** *uzhe, ochevidno, eti starye veshchi ne podderzhivaiut, a u* ***nas*** *kak-to tak poka chto.*

So I think that all Russian-speaking immigrants celebrate that [holiday], well, probably only with the exception of those, who came here 20 years ago or earlier. **They** obviously do not preserve such old things any more, but it is still so with **us**.

The distancing from other Russian speakers in (6) is realized by the respondent through a particularly strong contrast between 'we'- the group of recent Russian-speaking immigrants of which she perceives herself a member, and 'they'- the group of Russian speakers who came to Canada significantly earlier. This contrast is linguistically realized through the opposition of the deictic personal pronouns 'we' and 'they'.

The last example in this section, (7), demonstrates how Russian-speaking participants in this study distance themselves from other Russian speakers, specifically those who after arrival to Canada were so eager to integrate that they consciously cut themselves off from the Russian-speaking community. A 44-year old construction worker, who came to Canada from Ukraine four years ago with his wife and daughter, noted in his reflection about the importance of preserving native language:

(7) *Nekotorye, naoborot, priezzhaia siuda, staraiutsia ... pokazat', chto **oni** nichego ne imeiut obshchego s russkim ili ukrainskim iazykom, chto **oni** znaiut tol'ko angliiskii, chto **oni** dazhe preziraiut eti .. iazyki, na kotorykh **my** govorim.*

Some people, on the contrary, after coming here try … to show that **they** have nothing in common with the Russian or Ukrainian languages, that **they** only know English, that **they** even detest these .. languages that **we** speak.

In example (7) the distancing of the respondent towards Russian speakers who try to assimilate into Canadian society by sacrificing their native language and culture is intensified by the parallel construction 'that they…' In contrast, the speaker's perceived membership in a different group is linguistically expressed by deictic first person plural pronoun *my* 'we' at the end of example (7). This pronoun is used by the respondent to refer to all other Russian speakers that behave in a different way and preserve their native language.

The self-image of being the members of the Russian-speaking community unveiled in the analysis of interviews with the Russian speakers in this study, as discussed above, is quite well represented. The analyzed linguistic means of constructing this image is the deictic first person plural pronoun 'we' used by the participants. However, there are a few differences found throughout this category. As the participants of this study are recent immigrants, in addition to belonging to a Russian-speaking community or the immigrant community in general, the participants

particularly emphasize their belonging to groups of recent Russian-speaking immigrants. This emphasis is particularly strong when the respondents contrast this membership with other groups to which they do not feel attached. Such groups are comprised of groups of immigrants who either are of second or even earlier generations, or those Russian speakers who consider assimilation into mainstream society more important than preserving cultural and linguistic heritage. I chose to illustrate how the distancing from these groups is linguistically expressed by the respondents with the help of the deictic 'they'.

Image 3: Former Soviet Citizens

The image of the research participants as former Soviet citizens is not very frequent in interviews with the participants of the research. Although there are a few very interesting examples revealing this image, their number is quite small. Interestingly, this image is characteristic of the speech of primarily one respondent from Ukraine (see example 9). Out of total 19 usages of the deictic first person plural pronoun *my* 'we' for the construction of this image, 16 belong to the same person. Two examples given by two different respondents are considered below.

The following example demonstrates twofold positioning, that is while identifying herself as a former Soviet citizen, the speaker at the same time distances herself (place reference *tam* 'there') from that country. The speaker, a 52-year old university employee who migrated to Canada from Ukraine seven years ago with her teenage son, is reflecting about the question of how she could describe her country of origin to a Canadian friend:

(8) *Strana, **nash** byvshii Sovetskii Soiuz, esli tak mozhno skazat', popal v uzhasno tiazhelyi period ... istoricheskii period zhizni, poetomu poriadka **tam** net, i eshche dolgo ego **tam** ne budet.*

> The country, **our** former Soviet Union, if one can say so, found itself in an awfully difficult period ... historical period, therefore there is no order **there**, and there will be no order **there** for a long time.

Identification with the former Soviet Union in (8) is linguistically signalled by the deictic possessive pronoun *nash* 'our', in "our former Soviet Union". Later, this identification is contrasted with the respondent's usage of the deictic place reference *tam* 'there' in order to indicate her distancing from that membership. Interestingly, she acknowledges her belonging to the group, but at the same time distances herself from it. This can possibly be explained by the possible involuntary nature of this group membership.

Another similar example involving the twofold positioning of a speaker is given by another research participant. A 44-year old saleswoman from Ukraine who came to Canada four years ago with her husband and daughter is describing her life during Soviet times. Similarly identifying herself as a part of the Soviet population, she distances herself from the ideology forced upon her. This is illustrated in (9):

(9) *Nu u **nas** voobshche vot takaia ideologicheskaia nakachka byla v raionakh, vot **my** vyrosli vse s etim. **Tam** schitalos' u **nas** kak: da strana u **nas** takaia, tam dorogi plokhie - u **nas** takie horoshie liudi.*

> **We** had such strong ideological pressure in the regions, so **we** grew up with this. **There** it was customary for **us** to think like this: yes, **we** have such a country, bad roads – but **we** have such good people.

In example (9) the phrase "there it was customary for us" is particularly interesting. In this phrase both belonging to a group and feeling towards this belonging is expressed by the speaker. While acknowledging herself as a member of the former Soviet population, signalled by deictic *my* 'we' (and its forms), the speaker at the same time shows her negative feelings towards this membership. She tries to distance herself from it with the help of the deictic place reference *tam* 'there'. Later in her speech, she expressed how wrong her perception was concerning the belief that only her

country had good people. She also regretted her late realization of this ideological stance which hindered her perception of other people.

Examples in this short section demonstrate that some participants consider themselves former Soviet citizens. This image is linguistically expressed by the speakers via the deictic personal pronoun 'we' and its possessive form 'our'. However, negative feelings towards this membership are indicated in both (8) and (9) by means of linguistic distancing with the help of the deictic place reference 'there'.

As mentioned above, the category of 'former Soviet citizens' is not very frequent in conversation with the participants and as already mentioned it is primarily a characteristic of only one research participant. Nevertheless, it illustrates another level of belonging among the participants of the study and gives a better picture of the diverse nature of identity construction among these immigrants. The next category which is of even less relevance, but is still worth mentioning, is the category of 'Canadian residents'.

Image 4: Residents of Canada

The self-perception of Russian speakers in this study as residents of Canada is quite scarce. The linguistic means for participants' construction of this image is, as in the previous sections, the use of the deictic first person pronoun *my* 'we'. Out of fifteen interviews, only three accounts of the construction of this image were found during the analysis. This is very interesting, because as it will be seen later, the positioning of the Russian-speaking immigrants towards their new country seems very positive. The scarcity of the construction of this image in interviews with the research participants illustrates the complex and sometimes even contradictory nature of identities of this immigrant group. It can also be relevant to note that most respondents are quite recent

immigrants, with the average period of stay in Canada spanning eight years.[12] Other possible reasons can be connected with the subject matter discussed during interviews and the linguistic means chosen for the analysis.

Examples (10) and (11) illustrate the participants' self-perception as Canadian residents. Example (10) is given by a 52-year old female participant from Ukraine as an answer to the question about celebrating traditional holidays in Canada. In this example she is trying to find reasons to explain why some previously followed traditions have disappeared:

(10) *Interviewer: A skazhite, zdes', v Kanade, Vy prazdnuete te zhe samye prazdniki, kotorye prazdnovali v Ukraine?*

Respondent: Net, pozhalui, net. Potomu chto, v obshchem-to, ego i ne s kem prazdnovat'. Nu konechno, ***my*** *(a) otmechaem Novyi god, no uzhe sovershenno* ***my*** *(b) zabyli vos'moe marta, prakticheski govoria, pervoe maia, ne znaiu dazhe, kak on teper' nazyvaetsia v Rossii v Ukraine etot prazdnik. Da tem bolee, chto u* ***nas*** *(c) eto rabochii den'.*

Interviewer: Can you tell me please if here in Canada you celebrate the same holidays that you celebrated in Ukraine?

Respondent: No, I suppose not. Because, actually there is no one to celebrate with. Of course, **we** (*a*) celebrate New Year, but **we** (*b*) have totally forgotten the 8th of March, practically speaking, the 1st of May, I don't even know how this holiday is called now in Russia and in Ukraine. And moreover, this is a working day for **us** (*c*).

In this example, three instances of deictic *my* 'we' are present. Interestingly, they are used by the speaker to construct different images. While 'we' in (10a) and (10b) can be used to refer to either the speaker's family or the Russian-speaking community in Edmonton in general (though the first seems more probable), the 'we' in (10c) is of particular interest for this subsection. In a reference to the work life in Canada, 'for us' here probably means 'for people living in Canada'. It might refer to family (for

[12] The connection of the scarcity of this image with the legal status of the respondents in Canada does not seem to be relevant. Although, no citizenship questions were asked during interviews and in questionnaires, from most intereviews it became clear that most participants are Canadian citizens, and at least one is not a Canadian citizen.

our family living in Canada), but it seems right to assume that the reference to life in Canada is stronger here than any reference to the respondent's family.

Example (11) was given by a 45-year old programmer from Russia who migrated to Canada ten years ago with his family. It is a reply to a question about his identity. When he replied that he considered himself Russian-Canadian, the interviewer wanted to know why this was not simply 'Russian':

(11) *Nu **my** zhivem v etoi strane ... nu vot.. Ia schitaiu, eto obiazatel'noe uslovie: ty dolzhen ... dolzhen .. prinimat' te usloviia, v kotorykh ty zhivesh'.*

Well **we** live in this country … so .. I think this is a necessary condition; you must … must .. accept those conditions that you live in.

Example (11) signals respondent's identification with, and acceptance of, life in his new country. When trying to explain his point of view, with the help of the deictic *my* 'we' the speaker positions himself as a resident of Canada ('we live in this country') who should accept the conditions in which he lives.

Examples (10)-(11) shed more light on the self-perception of Russian speakers in this study. The two examples presented in this section, with the help of the deictic first person plural pronoun 'we', illustrate the participants' identification and acceptance of life in Canada. However, most of the respondents of this study are recent immigrants, and while they positively position themselves towards the country itself, as it has emerged from the interviews some of them do not yet seem to see themselves as its residents.

Image 5: Residents of a Respective Country of Origin

The image painted by the research participants as residents of their respective countries (Belarus, Estonia, Russia, and Ukraine) is very common. This shows that most immigrants still consider themselves part of the population of the country they have left, although sometimes they say otherwise. The category of 'residents of a

respective country of origin' shows a very interesting and contrasting trend. While still probably subconsciously perceiving themselves as part of the population of their native country, the respondents' positioning towards their home country is not uniform. Cases of both positive and negative positioning are present in interviews with the participants. This is another illustration of the complex and contradictory nature of the respondents' identities and perceptions. The same linguistic means as in the previous sections (the deictic personal pronoun *my* 'we' and its possessive form *nash* 'our') are used to construct this image. 79 accounts of the usage of this pronoun for the construction of this image have been discovered during the analysis.

Examples (12) – (15) demonstrate how belonging to the population of a particular country is constructed by participants of the study. Examples (12) and (13) are provided by former Russian residents. Example (12) was given by a 41-year old businessman from Russia who came with his family to Canada six years ago. He is also a very active member of the Russian-speaking community. In this example, he compares his life in Russia with his present life in Edmonton:

(12) ***My*** *ne zhili v Rossii v takoi suete. Ia vot ne pomniu ... polnye pochtovye iashchiki vsiakikh billov tam i prochego vsego. Dlia* ***nas*** *kak-to eto bylo na zadnem plane .. da i, to est',* ***my*** *etogo ne zamechali.*

We didn't live in Russia in such haste. I don't remember … full mailboxes of all sorts of bills and other things. It was in the background for **us** .. and I mean **we** didn't notice it.

In (12), in all three instances first person plural pronoun *my* 'we' identifies the speaker as a member of the Russian population. This is clear from the very beginning of the example, where by saying, 'we didn't live in Russia in such haste', he identifies himself as a former resident of Russia.

Example (13) is another instance that demonstrates a participant's self-identification as a member of the population of his former country. The speaker is a

35-year old mechanic who came to Canada from Russia twelve years ago. In this example the speaker emphasizes the importance of communication with his former fellow country people:

(13) *Poetomu sreda obshcheniia ... mne ochen' vazhna kak by ... sredi svoikh sootechestvennikov. Tol'ko .. **my** mozhem drug druga poniat'.*

Therefore the communication circle … is very important to me … to be among my fellow country people. Only .. **we** can understand each other.

Aligning himself with other people from Russia (which is clear from the very first sentence), the speaker uses the deictic *my* 'we' to emphasize his emotional belonging to this group.

Example (14), elicited from a Ukrainian immigrant, is informative also. It was provided by a 44-year old female research participant who came to Canada from Eastern Ukraine four years ago with her husband and daughter. In this example, she discussed the changes that took place in her city during the last years she was living in Ukraine before she migrated:

(14) *A .. potom u **nas** nachala nemnozhko zhizn' uluch- uluchshat'sia. Ia ne khochu skazat', chto bylo plokho, u **nas** poiavilis' ochen' khoroshie produkty pitaniia, u **nas** zarabotali vsiakie fa- fabriki, zavody. Ia ne znaiu kakoe, ia ne razbiraius' mnogo ni v politike, Ianukovich - Iushchenko, no khochu skazat', chto kogda ia uvidela, chto u **nas** nachali zara- rabotat' shakhty i zavody, chto tot zhe Ianukovich i ego ( ) tam kakoi-to nachal vkladyvat' den'gi, to ia kak razumnyi chelovek uzhe dumala, chto .. on navernoe apparatchik khoroshii, potomu chto u **nas** ne rabotalo neskol'ko shakht, i ia rabotala v etom sektore, videla kak zarabotalo Kalinino, kak nachali vkladyvat'sia den'gi v podstantsii. Ia kak chelovek razumnyi, ia nachala etomu radovat'sia.*

And .. then **our** life started to slowly imp- improve. I don't want to say that it was bad, **we** started to have very good groceries, **our** different fa- factories and plants started to work. I don't know which, I don't know much about politics, Yanukovich – Yushchenko, but I want to say that when I saw that **our** mines and plants started to work that the same Yanukovich and his ( ) some started to invest money, and I as an intelligent person thought that .. he was probably a good apparatchik, because **we** had a few mines closed and I was working in that sphere, saw how Kalinino started to work, how money started to get invested in substations. I as an intelligent person, I was pleased with the situation.

In (14) the speaker uses the deictic *my* 'we' and its forms[13] to signal her belonging to the population of Ukraine. This is seen [illegible]r description of working life in that country, where she identifies herself as a worker in the mining industry (our mines, our factories). In both (14) and earlier (12) the speakers use the first person plural pronoun *my* 'we' to identify with the population of their countries of origin. Interestingly, this is done when they are remembering the time spent in their respective countries. This phenomenon will be discussed below in greater detail addressing positioning towards Canada and countries of origin.

The last example illustrates the identification of a respondent from Belarus with the population of his home country. He is a 47-year old construction worker who came to Canada eight years ago with his wife and a very young son. Example (15) is a part of the speaker's reflection in which he compares the cleanliness of public places in Canada with those in Belarus:

(15) *U **nas** vokzal'nyi tualet.. v stolitse goroda-geroia - eto byl finish.*

A washroom at a railway station .. in **our** capital Hero City[14] – this was something.

In (15) the speaker uses first person plural pronoun *my*[15] 'we' to signal his identification with the population of Belarus ("our capital Hero City").

In the section above, the deictic first person pronoun *my* 'we' has been employed by the respondents to construct their membership in the population of their respective native countries. This usage is very frequent throughout all interviews and present in conversations with participants from Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine. No

[13] In Russian version of this examples only declensional forms of deictic personal pronoun *my* 'we' are used. In English equivalent due to differences in language system, some of these personal pronouns are translated with deictic possessive pronoun 'our'. However, this does not have any implication for the analysis.

[14] An honorary title awarded to Soviet cities whose population showed heroism during Great Patriotic War (World War II) (Ozhegov 2000: 129).

[15] See Footnote 13.

examples of this image in the conversation with the only participant from Estonia have been identified. This can probably be explained by the fact that this participant left Estonia at a very young age and did not have any adult experience of living there. The frequency of this image can be partially explained by the fact that most of the participants of this study are recent immigrants.

Image 6: People Unified by Culture, Ethnicity, and Language

The 'people unified by culture, ethnicity, and language' is another image created by Russian-speaking immigrants in their speech. It is examined with the help of two linguistic means. Firstly, the first person plural pronoun *my* 'we', as used by the research participants, is discussed. As appeared from interviews, it was used 25 times by the respondents to construct this image. Secondly, the deictic pair of demonstrative pronouns *etot* vs. *tot* 'this' vs. 'that' is analyzed. The use of 'this' and 'that' signals immigrants' positioning towards their original culture, ethnicity, and language. Nine accounts of 'this' for the construction of this image have been discovered during the analysis. The importance of the image of 'people unified by culture, ethnicity, and language' lies in its reflection of the participants' attitudes towards the preservation of their culture and language in a 'foreign' environment.

Firstly, we will start with the employment of the first person plural pronoun in the creation of this image. The first example (16) is of a general nature. In this example, a speaker from Russia is claiming membership in a Russian cultural and ethnic group and talking about preserving cultural heritage. The speaker is a 41-year old businessman and a president of one of the Russian-speaking community organizations. He came to Canada from Russia with his family six years ago.

(16) *Nu esli* ***my*** *(a) russkie, to* ***my*** *(b) dolzhny kak-to ego sokhraniat' .. nasledie.*

Well since **we** (*a*) are Russians, **we** (*b*) must somehow preserve it .. heritage.

In (16) above, the deictic *my* 'we' is used by the speaker to signal his membership in two groups. In (16a), *my* 'we' refers to membership in an ethnic group, while in (16b) *my* 'we' also signals membership in a cultural group, because at the end of the example the speaker refers to preserving a shared heritage, which implies cultural heritage. He particularly speaks about preserving language (as that was the question asked by the interviewer).

Example (17) concentrates to a larger degree on ethnic membership. It was given by a 41-year old Russian homemaker who migrated to Canada via Japan 3.5 years ago with her husband and two children. This example is a part of her reflection about differences in cultural norms in Russia and Canada. She is describing her teacher in an ESL class she attended. Interestingly, it is a multiple-layered example, because memberships in different groups are claimed at the same time:

(17) *Ia kak raz khodila na angliiskii. Odin uchitel' tam byl, no on takoi, iz frantsuzov, kakoi-to golubovatyi, neponiatno ( ). I on mne skazal: "Pochemu vy, russkie zhenshchiny," - a u menia v gruppe kak raz* ***nas*** *(a) bylo chetvero, vse i takogo vozrasta, nu kak 38-40 let - "vot u vas u vsekh russkikh takoi .. kholodnyi vzgliad," - predstavliaesh'. ( ) Da, u* ***nas*** *(b) glaza .. Ia russkikh vsekh po glazam uznaiu vot. V avtobuse ia zakhozhu, ia vizhu, chto eto* ***nashi*** *(c) tam.*

I was attending English classes at that time. There was one teacher there, he was like, French, sort of a gay, I don't know ( ). So he told me: "Why do you, Russian women," – and in my group there were exactly four of **us** (*a*), and all of such an age, well 38-40 years old – "you Russians all have such .. a cold look," – can you imagine? ( ). Yes, **our** (*b*) eyes .. I recognize all Russians by the eyes. When I get on a bus, I see that there are **our** (*c*) people there.

In example (17), (17a) refers not only to Russians, but specifically to the Russian women with which the research participant identifies. In (17b) and (17c) however, a reference to ethnic group membership is made.

The next speaker, a 33-year old student, discusses the differences in educational systems of her country (Ukraine) and Canada. She came to Canada four years ago. When talking about adaptation difficulties, she says:

(18) *Nu .. vse govoriat (cultural) kul'turnyi shok, no u menia byl .. obrazovatel'nyi shok, potomu chto vot raznitsa mezhdu bolonskoi sistemoi obrazovaniia i* ***nashei*** *– eto .. eto samoe slozhnoe, chto mne v zhizni prishlos'.. preodolet', poniat'.*

Well .. everyone says (cultural) cultural shock, but I had .. educational shock, because this difference between the Bologna education system and **our** system – this .. this is the most difficult part that I had to .. overcome in my life, you know.

In (18), the deictic possessive pronoun *nash* 'our' is used by the speaker to show her alignment with people of the same educational background, and her contrast to Canadian-educated people who experienced the Bologna education system. The interviewer is possibly included in the first group by the speaker. With education being a part of culture, we can treat this instance as belonging to the cultural group.

Example (19) shows the speaker's positioning towards his original culture. With the help of the deictic proximal demonstrative *etot* 'this', positive positioning can be observed. In (19) the research participant is complaining about the scarcity of cultural life in Canada as compared to his home country, and describing an Hermitage exhibition in Toronto he viewed when he lived there. The participant is a 35-year old mechanical engineer. He came to Canada from Belarus ten years ago.

(19) *Tak vot* ***etot*** *segment iz Ermitazha bol'she, chem ves' ostal'noi muzei.*

So **this** segment from Hermitage was bigger that the rest of the museum.

In example (19) the deictic proximal demonstrative *etot* 'this' discloses the speaker's attitude toward elements of his culture, while comparing it with the culture in Canada ('the rest of the museum'). It is interesting to note is that the speaker is from Belarus,

but he nevertheless identifies with Russian culture, which signals the remnants of Russian culture's previous strong domination.

In this subsection, the research participants' identification with their original culture, ethnicity, and language have been discussed. The two linguistic means employed by the participants to signal their belonging to this group have been analyzed. The role of first person plural pronoun 'we' in the construction of respondents' memberships in ethnic, linguistic, and cultural groups has been addressed. The deictic pair of demonstrative pronouns 'this/that' and its role in expressing respondents' positioning towards memberships has been analyzed. An image of people united by culture, ethnicity, and language is frequent in interviews, showing that some respondents still feel an attachment to their native language, culture, and ethnic group.

This first section of the analysis has addressed different self-images Russian-speakers in Edmonton disclose in their speech, which uncover a multiplicity of self-perceptions present among the study participants. Deictic referential expressions, such as the deictic first person plural pronoun *my* 'we' and the deictic pair of demonstrative pronouns *etot/tot* 'this/that', help identify following self-images which the participants construct in their speech: members of a family, members of the Russian-speaking immigrant community, former Soviet citizens, residents of Canada, residents of a respective country of origin, and people united by culture, ethnicity, and language. Most of the images are quite frequently found in conversations with participants, except for the images of 'former Soviet citizens' and 'residents of Canada'. This, as noted before, can be possibly explained by the fact that most of the participants in this study are recent immigrants. In the next sections, immigrants' positioning towards

their new country of residence and the other people that live in it, as well as their positioning towards their country of origin and its residents, will be addressed.

3.3. Perceptions of Others

3.3.1. Are They Like Us? Canadians in Russian-Speaking Immigrants' Speech

In this section of the analysis, the ways in which the research participants perceive the local population of their adopted country are discussed. More specifically, this study is interested in the ways they linguistically express their proximity or distancing towards other Canadians. The linguistic strategies uncovering this phenomenon include the following deictic pairs: *etot* 'this' – *tot* 'that', *zdes'/ tut* 'here' – *tam* 'there', *seichas* 'now' – *togda* 'then', and *my* 'we' – *oni* 'them'. The first element of the pair is associated with proximity, and the second with distancing.

Firstly, the proximity examples are discussed. The distancing examples are divided into two sections: perceptions of Canadians and perceptions of other ethnic groups in a Canadian context.

3.3.1.1. Proximity

As observed in section 3.2 above, which presents the self-images of Russian-speaking immigrants, only a few examples of the respondents' self-perception as residents of their new country have been found during the analysis. The examples of proximity towards the Canadian population are not very numerous also. Sixteen examples of proximity involving the analyzed deictics have been discovered in interviews. Consider examples (20)-(21):

(20) *Mne* ***togda*** *(a) kazalos', chto* ***eti*** *(b) liudi dobree ..* ***zdes'*** *(c) ... Dobree po prostoi prichine, chto .. kusok khleba, krysha nad golovoi. Vse vremia vidish'* ***etikh*** *(d) starikov radostnykh, to est' .. svoe budushchee, tak skazhem, ... da ... nu net .. ne bylo tak khamstva, a* ***tut*** *(e) vse (khamy), esli tak v obshchem skazat', da.*

It seemed to me **then** (*a*) that **these** (*b*) people are more kind .. **here** (*c*) … More kind out of the simple reason that there is .. a piece of bread, a roof

above one's head. You can see **these** (*d*) happy old people, that is .. own future so to say … yes ... well no .. there was no boorishness, and **here** (*e*) everyone is (a boor) if one can so generalize, yes.

(21) *Normal'nye liudi, takie zhe kak i* ***my***.

Normal people, same as **we** are.

Examples (20) and (21) show different ways in which the respondents express their proximity and connectedness with the Canadian population in Edmonton. The speaker in (20) is a 47-year old construction worker who migrated to Canada from Belarus eight years ago. He recalls his first impression about Canadians upon his arrival and reflects about the differences between Canadians and Belarusians. In example (20), (20b) and (20d), the deictic proximal demonstrative pronoun *etot* 'this' and its declensional forms are used to create the effect of the respondent's sense of proximity towards the local Canadian population. In (20c), the space reference *zdes'* 'here' is used for the same reason, in order to express the speaker's positive positioning towards Canada, while in example (21) the reasoning is slightly debatable. The speaker in (21) is a 44-year old saleswoman from Ukraine. This example is the summary of her answer to the question how she would describe Canada and its people to a friend in Ukraine. While contextually the sentence in (21) is meant to create the effect of the proximity of the speaker to Canadians, it unconsciously opposes one group ('we', most probably meaning 'Ukrainians') against the other (Canadians). Also interesting are the instances (20a), and particularly (20e). While in the example (20a) the speaker is only referring to his first impressions upon arrival, in the example (20e) he uses a place reference and refers to Belarus (arguably) as *tut* 'here'. This possible slip of the tongue, which puts the social space denoted by this deictic in contradiction with the physical location of the respondent, might display his emotional attachment to his homeland.

Analysis of examples (20)-(21) can be supplemented by evidence from earlier examples (10)-(11) from section 3.2, which discusses Russian-speakers' self-perceptions as Canadian residents. This perception shows their identification with other people living in Canada. Example (22) was given by a 45-year old programmer from Russia, who migrated to Canada with his family ten years ago. This example provides further evidence of the participants' proximal positioning towards the Canadian population:

(22) *Vot chto by chto ochen' sil'no .. brosalos' v glaza, eto .. **my** (a), privykshie **zdes'** (b) k liudiam, kotorye idut tebe navstrechu, ulybaiutsia i govoriat 'zdravstvuite' neznakomomu cheloveku, **tam** (c) etogo net, i kogda ulybaesh'sia, smotriat na tebia kak na idiota.*

Well what what was the most .. striking was that .. **we** (*a*) who had already got used **here** (*b*) to the people who come your way, smile and say hello to a total stranger, there is nothing like that **there** (*c*), and when you smile you are being looked at as an idiot.

Example (22) is given by a research participant who describes his visit to his home country after a significant amount of time spent in Canada. As the usage of deictic references show, the participant of the study clearly positions himself as a Canadian resident (22a), who lives in Canada (22b) and who does not fit into his country of origin (Russia) anymore (22c). This example differs to a certain extent from the previous examples of this section. While in (20) and (21) proximity towards Canadians and life in Canada is expressed through proximal deictics (e.g. 'this', 'here', 'we'), in (22) the proximity towards Canadian people is expressed through distancing from the country of origin (here, Russia) with the help of the distancing deictic *tam* 'there'. More examples of this kind will be discussed further in the analysis, when the respondents' positioning towards Canada will be addressed (see section 3.3.2). Although present, this type of expressing closeness towards Canada is not as common as the use of promixal deictics.

In the above subsection the proximal positioning of the participants in the study toward the local population in Canada has been discussed. Among the researched deictics, the linguistic means used by respondents to signal their emotional proximity towards Canadians include the following: *etot* 'this', *zdes'/ tut* 'here', *my* 'we'. However, as noted before, this category is not very frequent among the respondents.

3.3.1.2. Distancing

The linguistic distancing of Russian-speaking immigrants from the local Canadian population, as it has already been noted, is considerably more frequent and is common for most respondents. Among the researched deictics, the linguistic device used by the study participants for distancing purposes is the deictic third person plural pronoun *oni* 'they' (81 uses of this pronoun for the expression of distancing from Canadians have been discovered during the analysis), particularly in opposition to the deictic first person plural pronoun *my* 'we'. *My* 'we' is used by speakers to display their belonging to a certain group, while *oni* 'they' is used by speakers to distance themselves from a group, in this study, from the mainstream Canadian population. Consider example (23):

(23) *I v oboikh sluchaiakh on byl slishkom kvalifitsirovannym, kak u* ***nikh*** *(a) eto overqualified, .. vot* ***im*** *(b) nuzhno poproshche, .. i vykhodit, chto u nego odin put' - v universitet kakoi-to.*

And in both cases he was too qualified, how do **they** (*a*) call it overqualified, .. **they** (*b*) need someone simpler, .. and it turns out that he has only one path – to some university.

In examples (23) above, the deictic pronoun *oni* 'they' (and its declensional forms) is used by the respondent to distance herself from the population of her new country. In (23a) and (23b) the speaker, a 41-year old Russian homemaker who came to Canada 3.5 years ago with her family, discusses the difficulties her husband had to face when

he was looking for a job after their arrival. It is notable that while in the English translation (23a) can be argued to be a common phrase that does not necessarily have referential strength, the same cannot be said about its original Russian equivalent. In Russian it sounds marked, whereas the unmarked version would omit the pronoun (e.g. instead of *kak u **nikh** eto* 'how do **they** call it' unmarked version would use *kak eto 'how is it called'*).

Example (24) is of particular interest because along with the linguistic distancing, it represents the speaker's own view of the stages of integration into the new country's society. This example was given by a Russian female respondent who migrated to Canada after having lived with her family in Japan for several years (same as in example 23).

(24) *Vot u menia vot takaia sobstvennaia, vot eto vot schitai vtoraia strana: pervyi god ty vse otvergaesh'. Vot tebe vse ne nravitsia, ty ishchesh' nedostatki. Vse plokho, vse ne to, ty sravnivaesh' kak by eshche so stranoi, gde ty zhil. Vtoroi god tebe kak by vse ravno. Vse tak, .. nu kak budto ty uzhe privykaesh'. A uzhe cherez tretii, vot tretii god ty ty uzhe prinimaesh' **ikh**.*

Well I have such own, this is, you know, my second country; during the first year you reject everything. You don't like anything, you look for drawbacks. Everything is bad, everything is different, you still compare everything so to say with the country in which you lived before. During the second year you are sort of indifferent. Everything is like .. well as though you are already getting used to it. And already after the third, during the third year you already accept **them**.

The use of deictic *ikh* 'them' at the end of (24) signals the respondent's self-distancing from Canadians and their way of life. She still does not see herself as a member of that group (i.e. Canadian population). The paradox of (24) is that despite the adaptation stages that the participant describes, and having lived in Canada for more than three years, she still looks for differences, ending the quote with a distancing referential pronoun.

Even more revealing are the examples in which group memberships are linguistically contrasted with the help of the deictic pair *oni* vs. *my* 'they' vs. 'we'. The following example (25) illustrates this phenomenon:

(25) *A .. ia by skazal, v bol'shinstve svoem* ***oni*** *(a)* ***nas*** *(b), kto ne kto ne govorit na chistom angliiskom iazyke, khotia* ***oni*** *(c) sami immigranty,* ***oni*** *(d)* ***nas*** *(e) pripisyvaiut k immigrantam i otnosiatsia k* ***nam*** *(f) ... s dostatochnoi stepen'iu sniskhoditel'snosti i ... vedut sebia kul'turno po otnosheniiu k* ***nam*** *(g) prosto potomu, chto* ***oni*** *(h) tak vospitany i boiatsia oslozhnenii s zakonom i tak dalee. No pri udobnom sluchae, ia dumaiu, chto* ***oni*** *(i) by skazali, chto* ***my*** *(j)... ((h)).*

> And .. I would say that most of **them** (*a*) attribute **us** (*b*), those who don't speak pure English, although **they** (*c*) are immigrants themselves, **they** (*d*) attribute **us,** (*e*) to immigrants, and treat **us** (*f*) ... with a certain degree of condescension and ... behave in a civilized manner towards **us** (*g*) only because **they** (*h*) are well-mannered and are afraid of legal problems and so on. But should a chance come up, I think **they** (*i*) would say that **we** (*j*) ... ((h)).

The above example (25) demonstrates the participant's linguistic distancing from the local Canadian population by contrasting the two groups and claiming membership in only one of them. This example was given by a 42-year old businessman from Russia who came to Edmonton with his family six years ago. It is an answer to the question about his perception of his treatment by local Canadian population. In (25) distancing (or even confrontation) is expressed via the speaker's alignment of himself with other immigrants in Canada who do not speak English fluently in (25b), (25e), (25f), (25g), (25j), and opposing this group to the local Canadian population in (25a), (25c), (25d), (25h), (25i) (the end of this quotation was not audible).

Having discussed how some Russian speakers distance themselves from the local Canadian population, it is also interesting to see their perception of other ethnic groups. Remarkable in this respect are the following examples (26) and (27), both given by a 41-year old homemaker who came to Canada from Russia via Japan with her husband and two children. Both these examples are part of her reflection about

difficulties she had to face upon arrival. She first came to Ottawa and only later moved to Edmonton, because her husband found a job.

(26) *Potomu chto .. ia potom, kogda nauchilas' na eto reagirovat', luchshe sebia chuvstvovala.* ***Oni*** *ne plokhie,* ***oni*** *prosto drugie. Nu tam, dopustim, u* ***nikh*** *svoe poniatie o chistote, svoe poniatie tam o prilichiiakh.*

Because .. later when I learned how to react to that, I felt better. **They** are not bad, **they** are just different. Well, for example, **they** have their own idea of cleanliness, their own idea of decency.

(27) *Ia ( ) tam osuzhdat',* ***oni*** *ne dolzhny vesti sebia tak, kak* ***my****, mozhet,* ***im*** *tozhe v* ***nashem*** *ispolnenii chto-to ne nravitsia.*

I ( ) so condemn, **they** don't have to behave the same way as **we** do, maybe **they** also don't like something in **our** behaviour.

As one can observe, in example (26) the speaker distances herself from other ethnic groups by referring to those people with deictic *oni* 'they', while in example (27) she contrasts this ethnic group with her own ethnic group (Russian) by using deictic personal pronoun *my* 'we' and possessive pronoun *nash* 'our'. Interestingly, these ethnic differences are particularly reinforced against visibly different ethnic groups.

The section above deals with the positioning of the participants towards residents of their adopted country. As we may conclude from the discussion above, while positive positioning is present in the speech of the research participants, some of them still continue to distance themselves from both the local Canadian population and other ethnic groups. The linguistic device used by the speakers in this section has been the deictic third person plural pronoun *oni* 'they'. Its deictic strength is intensified when it is contrasted with deictic first person plural pronoun *my* 'we'. With the help of *my* 'we' the participants of the study express their belonging to a certain group (immigrants in (25), and ethnic Russians in (27)), while using *oni* 'they' the speakers distance themselves from another group (Canadians and other ethnic groups

in Canada in (26) and (27)). In the next section we will discuss their positioning towards their new country.

3.3.2. Do We Feel At Home At This Place? Positioning Towards Canada as a Country and Edmonton as a City of Residence

In this section of the analysis, the positioning of the research participants towards their adopted country is discussed. According to Meinhof and Galasinki (2005: 33), "this process could be done positively as identification with the place of negatively as identification against it". More specifically, this study is interested in the ways speakers linguistically express their proximity or distancing towards Canada in general, and Edmonton in particular. The linguistic strategies which uncover this phenomenon that are analyzed here include the following deictic pairs: *etot* 'this' – *tot* 'that', *zdes'/ tut* 'here' – *tam* 'there', *seichas* 'now' – *togda* 'then'. The first element of each pair is associated with proximity and the second with distancing.

Initially, examples expressing the Russian speakers' proximal positioning towards Canada are discussed. This discussion is followed by examples of the speakers' distancing from their new country of residence.

3.3.2.1. Proximity

As seen in the previous section, both proximal and distal examples of positioning by Russian-speaking immigrants towards local Canadians are present. However, distal positioning seems to prevail. Contrary to that, positioning towards the country and the city in which the research participants live is unambiguous. Numerous examples of proximal positioning are contrasted with very few examples of distancing. Among the researched deictics, 277 times either place reference *zdes'/tut* 'here', time reference *seichas* 'now', or proximal demonstrative pronoun *etot* 'this' were used by the research participants to signal their proximal positioning towards Canada. Therefore,

closeness to Canada expressed through proximal linguistic means researched, is encountered more often than closeness to Canada expressed through distancing from the country of origin (150 times, as seen in the example 22 above). Closeness to Canada is also sometimes expressed through distancing from other places at which the respondents had lived before (United States, Europe, Japan), and to Edmonton through distancing from other Canadian cities (Toronto, Ottawa).

In the example (28), a 35-year old mechanic from Russia who has already spent twelve years in Canada, reflects upon the ease of adaptation in Canada. More specifically, the speaker contrasts his perception of being an immigrant in Canada to being an immigrant in Europe:

(28) *Konechno ... vot ... traditsii drugie .. v Kanade, khotia .. ia schitaiu, Kanada - naibolee ... legko adaptiruemaia strana dlia immigrantov, potomu chto* ***zdes'*** *(a) kak by ty sebia* ***tut*** *(b) ne chuvstvuesh' ... kak v Evrope, naprimer. Ty* ***tam*** *(c) chuzhoi. A* ***zdes'*** *(d) prakticheski vse takie zhe kak ty.*

> Of course … well .., traditions are different .. in Canada, though .. I think Canada is the most … easily adaptable country for immigrants, because **here** (*a*) you don't feel **here** (*b*) … as in Europe, for example. **There** (*c*) you are a stranger. And **here** (*d*) practically everyone is like you.

In example (28) the proximal positioning of the participant towards Canada is strengthened by contrasting his ease of integration in Canada (28a), (28b), (28d) to that in Europe (28c). He achieves this with the help of place referential demonstrative pronouns *zdes'/tut* 'here' vs. *tam* vs. 'there'.

A slightly more negative attitude towards life in Canada is depicted in examples (29)-(30). However despite the negativity, the speakers still adopt proximal positioning towards their new country. In example (29) the speaker, a 42-year old businessman having lived in Canada with his family for six years compares his life in Russia and in Canada. He complains about the rigid week schedule and a different approach to leisure in comparison to his country of origin. In (30) another participant

of the study, a 41-year old homemaker from Russia, complains about the social practice of small talk in Canadian stores. Consider (29) and (30):

(29) *A **zdes'** uzhe kak robotom stanovish'sia. Nuzhno vot eti dni otrabotat', a potom eti dni nastali – vse, vykliuchai vse i otdykhai.*

And **here** you become like a robot. On these days you should work, and then when these days arrive – switch off everything and relax.

(30) *Ia .. potom uzhe **zdes'** nachali magaziny delit'sia na te, v kotorykh pristaiut, i te, v kotorykh ne pristaiut. No **seichas** uzhe kak-to privykla ...*

I .. later the stores **here** already started to be differentiated into those where they bother you and those where they do not. But **now** I have somehow already gotten used to it…

In both (29) and (30) the respondents use the place referential *zdes'* 'here', and the author of (30) also uses the time referential *seichas* 'now' to indicate their positioning towards their new country of residence. As can be concluded from both examples, the respondents contextually show slightly negative attitudes towards various aspects of life in Canada. However, even though they perceive some aspects of life as negative, the aforementioned deictics show a proximal positioning towards Canada in general. This claim is also strengthened contextually, when as the end of (30) the speaker acknowledges that she 'has somehow already gotten used' to life in Canada.

The next example (31) shows a very strong positioning revealed by a respondent reflecting on why he identifies himself as Russian-Canadian, and not simply Russian. The example was given by a 44-year old construction worker who was born in Russia, but spent most of his life in Ukraine. He came to Canada four years ago with his wife and daughter.

(31) *Potomu chto ia .. uzh koli ia **siuda** (a) priekhal, ia ... obiazan eto delat', i ia eto delaiu i budu eto delat', potomu chto ia priezzhal **siuda** (b) s takimi mysliami, chto ... raz ia **siuda** (c) priekhal – ia ... ia chast' **etogo** (d) obshchestva. Ia budu .. ia prinimaiu zakony **etogo** (e) obshchestva, ia budu sledovat' **etim** (f) zakonam .. vo vsekh .. oblastiakh zhizni, nachinaia s zakonov kak takovykh i zakanchivaia kakimi-to kul'turnymi traditsiiami, kakimi-to traditsiiami prisushchimi **etomu** (g) mestu, gde ia zhivu neposredstvenno, prisushchimi*

etoi *(h)* *community, gde ia zhivu i tak dalee i tomu podobnoe. Tak ... bez vsiakikh somnenii ... ia nikogda ne budu* ***zdes'*** *(i) .. ustanavlivat' kakie-to .. svoi tam ... normy povedeniia, prava i tak dalee i tomu podobnoe. Ia priekhal v* ***eto*** *(j) obshchestvo - ia budu sledovat' zakonam* ***etogo*** *(k) obshchestva.*

Because I .. if I came **here** (*a*) I ... must do it and I do it and will do it, because I was coming **here** (*b*) with such thoughts that ... if I came **here** (*c*) – I ... I am a part of **this** (*d*) society. I will .. I accept the rules of **this** (*e*) society, I will follow **these** (*f*) rules .. in all .. aspects of life, from rules as such to some cultural traditions, some traditions inherent in **this** (*g*) place where I directly live, inherent in **this** (*h*) community where I live and so on and so forth. So ... without any doubt... I will never try to establish **here** (*i*) .. some .. of my own ... norms of behaviour, rights and so on and so forth. I came to **this** (*j*) society – I will follow the rules of **this** (*k*) society.

Example (31) is very interesting and representative of the respondent's positive positioning towards his new country and his new life within it. He employs a variety of linguistic strategies to convey his message, such as the place referential pronoun *zdes'* 'here' and the deictic demonstrative pronoun *etot* 'this' in its various declensional forms. His positioning goes though various stages: at first, he starts with his positioning to the country in general (31a), (31b), (31c); then he narrows his focus and positions himself first towards the society in this new country (31d), (31e), and the rules of the society (31f), and then towards the place (31g) and community (31h) of his residence. In the end, he returns to general picture, his new country (31i) and society (31j), (31k) in general.

Our previous discussions have dealt primarily with positioning towards Canada in general. Only the last example (31) briefly touched upon a more specific area of residence. The next two examples, (32) and (33) are more specific and reflect the positioning of the participants in the study towards Edmonton and Alberta:

(32) *Ia prosto podal na neskol'ko mest, .. chetyre po-moemu, nu i Edmonton okazalsia University of Alberta okazalsia tem mestom, kotoryi menia .. mne dal etot Post-Doctoral Fellowship .. i* ***zdes' u nas*** *takaia est' professor ( ), ona byla moim kak by rukovoditelem, pravda na postdoke uzhe ne byla .. rukovoditelem kak takovym, no contact person. Nu i vot s 2004 goda .. s noiabria ia* ***zdes'****.*

I just applied to several places .. four I think, and Edmonton and University of Alberta was that place that .. offered me this Post-Doctoral Fellowship .. and **here we** have a professor ( ), she was my sort of supervisor, actually was not already .. a supervisor as such during the post-doc, but a contact person. So since 2004 .. since November I am **here**.

(33) *U menia takoe oshchushchenie, chto vot* ***eta*** *(a), v printsipe,* ***eta*** *(b) chast' vot* ***etoi*** *(c) strany eto pochemu-to moia chast'. Vot kogda ia uvidela* ***eti*** *(d) elki, kogda ia videla* ***etu*** *(e) zimu, kogda ia videla* ***eto*** *(f) .. aa .. ia ne znaiu, ne mogu otvetit' …*

I have such a feeling that **this** (*a*) basically **this** (*b*) part of **this** (*c*) country is for some reason my part. When I saw **these** (*d*) fir trees, when I saw **this** (*e*) winter, when I saw **this** (*f*) .. aa .. I don't know, I don't have an answer …

In example (32) the speaker, a 37-year old university employee from Russia who migrated to Canada eight years ago, explains how he came to Edmonton. In this example, he not only positions himself positively towards Edmonton, but even more specifically towards the university at which he works, with the help of the place reference *zdes'* 'here' which he uses twice. This impression is intensified by his use of the deictic first person plural pronoun *u nas* 'we' (have), whereby he identifies himself as a member of the university community. Example (33) is slightly less specific. In this quote the speaker, a 44-year old saleswoman from Ukraine who came to Canada four years ago, positively positions herself towards the part of the country in which she stays (that is, Edmonton, Alberta) with the help of the deictic proximal demonstrative pronoun *etot* 'this' and its forms.

As it has been shown in this section, the participants of the research employ a variety of linguistic strategies to signal their positive positioning towards Canada and Edmonton. The most frequent linguistic device used by respondents is the place referential pronoun *zdes'* 'here'. However, the deictic demonstrative pronoun *etot* 'this' and the time reference *seichas* 'now' are also utilized by participants in the study. This category is extensively represented, which suggests that most of the respondents consider Canada their new home, even though some respondents have

negative attitude towards some aspects of Canadian life. In the next section examples of speakers' linguistic distancing from life in Canada are discussed.

3.3.2.2. Distancing

As has been briefly mentioned before, examples of distancing themselves from their life in Canada by the participants in the study are almost absent. Only one representative example is worth mentioning in this vein. When answering the question of whether he was worried about difficulties that he might face in Canada before leaving his country a 25-year old driver from Ukraine gave the following answer:

(34) *Eto eto eto bylo eto bylo chisteishim eksaitmentom: .. edesh' v kakuiu-to druguiu stranu, ponimaesh', chto* ***tam*** *naverniaka budet .. namnogo proshche i legche zhit' .. v kakikh-to v kakom-to smysle, i .. ne teriat' kak by kontaktov so svoei nastoiashchei zhizn'iu .. (kak togda v sovetsko- v Ukraine eto bylo) .. to est' eto eto bylo .. chert, kak po-russki excitement po-russki?*

This this this was this was pure excitement: .. you are going to some other country, you understand that it will surely be .. much easier to live **there** .. in some sense, and .. not to lose contacts with you present life .. (as it was then in the Soviet [Union] in Ukraine) .. I mean it it was .. damn it, how to say excitement in Russian?

Example (34) is very interesting. This quotation was given by a respondent who migrated to Canada as a teenager with his mother, and he is the only participant who received his post-secondary education only in Canada. As we can observe, the space referential *tam* 'there' is utilized by the speaker when he is trying to remember his feelings before his departure. This contradiction between the respondent's physical location and the social space denoted by the deictic can probably be explained by his subconsciously placing himself in that situation, in Ukraine, before leaving for Canada. From that perspective, Canada was 'there' and not 'here'. As Kresin states, "proximal deictic forms indicate the segment in time that is considered to be the 'present' from the point of view of the given character" (1998: 422). At the same time, it can be noticed that while 'returning back in time' to Ukraine, the speaker

cannot fully be there, as he cannot remember the Russian word to describe his feelings.

In conclusion, in the above sections of the analysis (3.3.1 and 3.3.2) the perceptions about the local Canadian population by the Russian-speaking immigrants and their positioning towards their life in Canada in general, and Edmonton in particular, have been discussed. As noted above in 3.3.1, while some positive perceptions of Canadians are present in the speech of Russian speakers, distancing towards Canadians and other ethnic groups in Canada seems prevail in conversations with the research participants. A clearer picture is observed when positioning towards life in Canada and Edmonton is discussed in the analysis. Most respondents seem to position themselves positively towards Canada and Edmonton, with only one example of distancing occurring; this was discussed above in (34). Even in this example, it can be claimed that distancing towards Canada is used by the respondent only as he remembers thoughts which occurred before leaving his home country for Canada. In this respect, he puts himself back into that time and place, and from there Canada is viewed, obviously, from a distance. Therefore, it can be suggested that most participants of the study position themselves positively towards Canada in their conversations, thus admitting their acceptance of Canada (and Edmonton) as their new home.

3.3.3. Are We Still Like Them or Different? Positioning Towards People from the Country of Origin

In this section of the analysis the Russian-speaking immigrants' perceptions of people from their country of origin are discussed. More specifically, this study is interested in finding out whether the immigrants still consider themselves a part of the society that they have left behind. In order to gain this insight, the aforementioned linguistic

strategies are analysed. The most relevant for this particular section are the deictic pairs *my* 'we' vs. *oni* 'they' and *etot* 'this' vs. *tot* 'that'. As before, examples of proximate positioning are addressed first. They are followed by examples of distancing in the speech of the respondents from people from their country of origin.

3.3.3.1. Proximity

Instances of Russian speakers consciously or subconsciously claiming membership in the society of the country they left are very frequent. They have already been discussed in section 3.2, when images of Russian-speaking immigrants were scrutinized. The image of residents of the country of origin is one of the most frequent images constructed by the participants in the study during their speech. This frequency demonstrates their alignment with society in the country of origin and can probably be explained by the fact that most respondents are recent immigrants. They have not detached themselves from the community of their home countries, especially since many of the participants still have relatives and friends in Belarus, Russia, or Ukraine with whom they regularly communicate. The examples (12)-(15) discussed earlier reveal an image already discussed in section 3.2, under 'Image 5: Residents of a Respective Country of Origin (Belarus, Russia, Ukraine)'.

3.3.3.2. Distancing

Participants' distancing from the society in their country of origin does not occur as frequently as their belonging to this group, but is still to some extent represented. Twenty five accounts of the usage of the researched deictics for the construction of distancing towards population of the respective countries have been found during the analysis. The following examples (35)-(36) illustrate distancing and are given by the same respondent, a 39-year old programmer from Ukraine, who came to Canada via United States with his wife nine years ago:

(35) *I ... byla istoriia ta, chto .. khoteli dokazat', chto u menia net net druzei. Druz'ia, konechno, u menia byli v universitete, ne ochen' mnogo, no khoroshie druz'ia.* ***Oni*** *.. rasschityvali na to, chto vse boiatsia .. vot* ***etoi*** *vot bol'shoi mashiny, i* ***oni*** *.. nikto ne vstanet na moiu zashchitu.*

And ... there was a story that .. they[16] wanted to prove that I have no friends. I, of course, had friends at the university, not many, but good friends. **They** .. thought that everyone would be scared .. of **this** large machine, and **they** .. no one would come to my rescue.

(36) *Chuvstvoval li ia sebia odnim iz* ***nikh****? Net, ne chuvstvoval.*

Did I feel like one of **them**? No I didn't.

In (35)-(36), the speaker describes his life in Ukraine before he left it, and particularly, his studies at the university and the conflicts that he had within the system at that time. As we can see in both examples (35)-(36), he addresses the people working for the system in his country during the Soviet Union as *oni* 'they', and he says that he did not feel as *odnim iz nihk* 'one of them' (36). Interestingly, in example (35) while distancing himself from the people working for the system, or the 'machine' as the respondent calls it, he uses the proximal device *etoi* 'this' which signals positive positioning towards 'this large machine'. One possible explanation here is that during his speech the respondent mentally put himself back into time when he was living in the Soviet Union, and saw everything from such a perspective. The deictics in the examples (35)-(36) show very strong distancing by the speaker from the people of his country of origin.

Example (37) is given by a 37-year old university employee from Russia who came to Canada eight years ago. It was given from the perspective of an immigrant who, after a long period of time, returned to his country of origin for a visit. It illustrates the speaker's encounters with friends and acquaintances:

[16] This particular instance of the third person plural pronoun 'they' is not analyzed because it is indefinite and present only in the English translation. This covert indefinite 'they' is characteristic of impersonal sentences in Russian.

(37) *Ty priezzhaesh', smotrish' ... tam sprashivaesh', kto eto, a* ***oni*** *na tebia smotriat – kak ty ne znaesh'.*

You arrive, watch [TV shows] … ask who that is, and **they** look at you – how come you don't know.

In (37) the speaker talks about his experiences with his friends when he visited Russia after having spent some time in Canada. Mainly, he is describing the many things that had changed during his absence, and about which he was not aware; new performers and actors had appeared whose names he never heard. In (37) he describes the reaction of his friends when he tries to ask them about these new phenomena. Such questions immediately mark the speaker as an outsider to the group. In (37) the speaker expresses this 'outsidereness' by distancing himself from his friends referring to them as *oni* 'they'.

The next example (38) was given by a 45-year old programmer from Russia who came to Canada ten years ago. In this example the speaker not only distances himself from the people in his country of origin, but also from the problems those people have to face in their daily lives.

(38) *Rodstvenniki* ***tam*** *(a), da, no, vse ravno, eto uzhe vosprinimaetsia otstranenno. To est', eto uzhe* ***ikh*** *(b) problemy.* ***My*** *(c) pomozhem ikh reshat', no eto* ***ikh*** *(d) problemy. Eto uzhe ne* ***nashi*** *(e) ... skazhem tak.*

Relatives are **there** (*a*), yes, but anyway, everything is already perceived remotely. I mean, these are already **their** (*b*) problems. **We** (*c*) will help to solve them, but they are **their** (*d*) problems. Not **ours** (*e*) … so to say.

In (38c) the speaker uses the deictic first personal plural pronoun *my* 'we' and its possessive form *nashi* 'ours' in (38e) to signal his membership in the group of people who do not live in his country of origin anymore. He not only includes himself in this group, but even expresses his opposition to another group – those people who live in the country of his origin—by using *ikh* 'their' in (38b) and (38d). This opposition is

intensified by the speaker distancing himself from the country itself with the deictic *tam* 'there' in (38a).

In this section, respondents' positioning towards the people of their country of origin has been discussed. As the analysis above shows, the respondents' self-perception as members of those respective societies, as well as positive positioning towards them, is still very frequent (examples (12)-(15)). However, examples of the linguistic distancing of the participants in the study from society in their countries of origin are present as well. Interestingly, the trend is such that the same speakers can show both types of positioning in different circumstances. This finding shows that "identities can … be contradictory and are always situational…" (Bailey and Hall 1992: 21, cited in Grossberg 1996: 91) and are inseparable from social practices.

3.3.4. Do We Fit In There Anymore? Positioning Towards the Country of Origin

In this last section of the analysis, the positioning of the participants in the study towards their country of origin is addressed. As we have already seen, the positioning of the respondents towards population of their respective countries of origin is quite ambiguous; frequently the respondents still see themselves as members of that society, while at the same time often distance themselves from it. In this section, the Russian speakers' perceptions of countries of origin in general are examined. The most common linguistic strategies relevant for the present analysis are: the place and time references *zdes'* 'here' – *tam* 'there', *seichas* 'now' – *togda* 'then', and demonstrative pronouns *etot* 'this' – *tot* 'that'. Examples of respondents' expressing their proximal positioning are examined first. They are followed by examples of distancing by the participants from their respective countries of origin.

3.3.4.1. Proximity

Examples of positive positioning of research participants towards their countries of origin are not very numerous when compared to the number of distancing examples. Twenty five instances of the use of the researched deictics to signal proximity to the country of origin have been discovered during analysis in comparison with 148 instances of distancing. Interestingly, examples of proximal positioning are characteristic of the speech of only five participants. At the same time, distancing examples are present in the speech of all fifteen respondents. Consider example (39), given by a 44-year old saleswoman from Ukraine who came to Canada four years ago with her husband and daughter. This example is a part of the reflection of the participant about the preservation of the native language.

(39) *Nel'zia v **etoi** strane, v **etoi** bednoi s ozhestochennymi liud'mi delat' ukrainskii iazyk gosudarstvennym.*

One cannot in **this** country, in **this** poor [country] with desperate people make Ukrainian a state language.

As can be seen from example (39), the respondent positions herself sympathetically towards her country of origin and seems worried and concerned about it. She employs the deictic proximal demonstrative pronoun *etot* 'this' and its forms in order to signal her proximal positioning.

Examples (40) and (41) are given by a 47-year old construction worker who came to Canada from Belarus with his family eight years ago, and are slightly different:

(40) *No ia prozhil vsiu zhizn' v Belorussii, u menia vsegda ostanutsia **eti** belorusskie berezki, ozera golubye, vse **eto** utro, vot **etot** aist letiashchii tam .. u menia eto .. ia eto khochu, da, na ozero, v- perespat' v stogu tam pod senom, (polovit' kakikh-to okun'kov), da, u menia eto, .. u menia eto ostanetsia, da, potomu chto u menia sklad kak .. po ottsu.*

But I lived all my life in Belarus, and I will always have [in my mind] **these** Belarusian birch trees, blue lakes, all **this** morning, **this** flying stork .. for me

this .. I want this, yes, to the lake, to- sleep over in the stack of hay, (to go perch fishing), yes I will have .. I will always have this [in my mind], yes, because I am in this way .. like my father.

(41) *K **tomu** (a) mestu, da, potomu chto ia ... ia ochen' mnogo ... po Belorussii peshkom bukval'no prokhodil, nu nachinaia s kogda eshche patsanom byl, tam pokhody **eti** (b) vse, rybalki, tam na lodkakh ... eshche **my** (c) .. tysiachu i odnu noch' perenochevali tam na beregu ozera, ( ) tam vse .. **etot** (d) utrennii voskhod na reke, tuman molochnyi tam .. u menia eto ostaetsia i vse ..*

To **that** (a) place, yes, because I ... I have traveled a lot… in Belarus literally on foot, well starting from the time when I was still a boy, all **these** (b) hiking trips, fishing, boats ... as well **we** (c) .. have spent thousand and one night on the lake shore, ( ) all .. **this** (d) morning sunrise on the river, milky fog .. I will always have it [in my mind] ..

As can be seen from example (40), the participant employs the deictic proximal demonstrative pronoun *etot* 'this' and its forms to convey his positive positioning toward Belarus. In example (41) we can see the continuation of this trend, and specifically positive positioning toward the speaker's childhood memories in (41b) and (41d). This proximal positioning is supported by another linguistic device used by the speaker. He employs the deictic first person plural pronoun *my* 'we' in (41c) by which he signals his membership in a group to which he belonged as a boy, and which he remembers in this example. However, at the same time slight distancing is starting to appear in his speech when he uses the deictic distal demonstrative *tomu* 'that' in (41a) to refer to his place of origin. We can assume that he positions himself positively towards his memories, but distances himself from the place itself. This deictic is used by the speaker not only as a simple reference to the geographical location, but it can also have a metaphorical meaning. Such metaphorical meanings of deictics and their contradictions to the physical location are present in Liebscher's (2003: 203) research in which she discovered "a disjunction between the speakers' physical location and the social spaces denoted by deictics". In example (41), the metaphorical space concept is not contradicting the physical location, but it still has a

certain force. This metaphorical distancing from the place is strengthened by the problems that the respondent had in his country of origin because of which he had to leave the country and since then has never returned.

In the above section, examples of the research participants' proximal positioning towards their countries of origin have been discussed. As noted before, these examples are not very numerous and are characteristic of the speech of only a few respondents. The deictics used by respondents to signal their proximal positioning include the place reference *zdes'* 'here', and the demonstrative pronouns *etot* 'this'. It is also worth noting that while some respondents position themselves positively towards their country of origin itself, other speakers also employ this type of positioning towards their memories about their country of origin (as in (41)). Examples of respondents' linguistic distancing from their country of origin are discussed in the following section.

3.3.4.2. Distancing

In contrast to positive positioning, examples of respondents' linguistic distancing from their country of origin are very frequent. This might seem obvious because of geographical location of the respondents in relation to their respective countries of origin. However, this does not always hold true. As Liebscher (2003: 190) discovered in her study of German TV talk shows, deictics "can lose their anchoring in geographic location" and "can refer to conceptual social places" instead. She claims that "deictics refer to social spaces, including social relationships within these spaces, rather than geographic locations" (Liebscher 2003: 203) and cites the contradiction between geographic location and social spaces found in her research. Examples of linguistic distancing by the respondents form their countries of origin are

characteristic of the speech of all participants in this study. Due to space limitations only selected examples are provided in this section. Consider example (42):

(42) *E .. v Rossii, konechno, ochen' sil'no do sikh por vliianie .. traditsionnykh ustoev nesmotria na .. to, chto* ***tam*** *meniaetsia, v obshchem-to, mnogoe. I liudi .. bol'shinstvo liudei zhivut tam zhe, gde vyrosli, tam zhe, gde ikh sem'i, babushki, teti, diadi .. nu ne u vsekh, no u bol'shinstva, i poetomu ..* ***tam*** *liudi formiruiut bo-, .. kak mne kazhetsia, bolee ustoichivye sotsial'nye sviazi stabil'nye, vot, podderzhivaiut otnosheniia blizkie, s opredelennym tem zhe samym krugom liudei.*

Eh .. in Russia, of course, traditional foundations .. still have very strong influence despite the fact that .. a lot is actually changing **there**. And people .. most people live in the same place where they grew up, where they have families, grandparents, aunts, uncles, .. well not everyone, but most of them, and that's why .. people **there** form more- .. as it seems to me more stable social networks, well, maintain close relationships with a certain and the same circle of people.

Example (42) is the beginning of a reflection by a 37-year old male university employee from Russia, who came to Canada eight years ago, about the differences in social life between Canada and Russia. As we can see in this example, although the speaker does not intentionally distance himself from his country of origin (he is only describing the situation), his reflection still positions him at a distance as a neutral observer, not as a part of it. This effect is achieved though the twice used deictic place referential *tam* 'there'.

In the next example, (43), another respondent, a 44-year old construction worker from Ukraine who had not visited his country since he settled in Canada four years ago, is trying to reflect on whether he would feel as a member of society there:

(43) *Sudia po otzyvam liudei, kotorye* ***tuda*** *ezdiat, sudia po moim kakim-to vospominaniiam. Poetomu ia boius', chto ia ne smog by chuvstvovat' uzhe chast'iu* ***togo*** *obshchestva* ***seichas***.

[I'm] judging by the responses of those people who travelled **there**, judging by my own memories. That is why, I am afraid, I wouldn't be able to feel a part of **that** society **now**.

Example (43) shows how the research participant distances himself from his country of origin and its society with the help of the place referential *tam* 'there' and the distal deictic demonstrative pronoun *togo* 'that'. Also interesting is the use of time referential *seichas* 'now'. This time referential is used by the speaker as the distancing device as well. More specifically, his country of origin and everything associated with it is a part of the past for the speaker.

A very strong attitude towards the country of origin can be seen in example (44), provided by a 52-year old female university employee from Ukraine, as part of her response about her feeling of belonging to the population of her country of origin:

(44) *No .. ia by nikogda v zhizni ne khotela* ***tuda*** *vernut'sia, ne khotela by* ***tam*** *ostat'sia i ... ne khotela by navodit'* ***tam*** *poriadok, potomu chto ne vizhu v etom smysla - moei zhizni na eto ne khvatit. Vot. No poskol'ku* ***tam*** *moia ... sem'ia zhivet, i* ***tam*** *mnogo moikh ochen' khoroshikh druzei,* ***tam*** *ochen' mnogo moikh khoroshikh vospominanii.*

But .. I would never in my life like to go back **there**, wouldn't like to stay **there** and ... wouldn't like to establish order **there**, because I don't see much sense in that – my life is not long enough for that. So. But because my … family lives **there**, and I have a lot of very good friends **there**, a lot of my good memories are **there**.

In (44), the respondent consciously distances herself from her country of origin from the very beginning, saying that she would never like to go back to Ukraine or to have anything to do with that country. However, by the end of the example the mood changes slightly, as she begins to think about her friends and relatives who live in Ukraine, and concludes that her memories of that place are positive. The concept of positive positioning towards the country of origin through positive memories about the place has been already discussed above, in example (41). However, the difference in this example is that despite the speaker's positive disposition towards her memories of her country of origin, the speaker is still firm in her distancing from it; she accomplishes this throughout the example with the help of place referential *tam*

'there'. The concept of positive positioning towards memories, but not towards the country and life there can be clearly observed in the example (45):

(45) ***My** ochen' dovol'ny i .. nikakoi nostal'gii .. v obshchem-to heh .. nu nostal'giia po proshlomu est', no ne po **tomu** obrazu zhizni.*

We are very glad and .. not nostalgic .. actually heh .. well nostalgic about the past, but not about **that** way of life.

Example (45) was given by a 45-year old programmer from Russia who spent ten years in Canada. It is a reply to a question regarding whether he was glad that he had moved to Canada. He speaks on behalf of his family and uses the first person plural pronoun *my* 'we' to express his membership in this group, while at the same time distances himself from the way of life of his country of origin with the help of the deictic demonstrative pronoun *tomu* 'that'. This distancing is also expressed contextually.

In the section above, the Russian speakers' distal positioning towards their countries of origin has been analyzed. As mentioned before, this category is very common, and is present in the speech of all respondents. It is interesting to note that in this section while respondents sometimes distance themselves from their respective country of origin itself and the way of life in their respective countries, in other cases respondents position themselves positively towards their memories about their countries of origin. The most common linguistic strategies used by speakers to express distancing include the place reference *tam* 'there' and the deictic demonstrative pronoun *tot* 'that'.

3.3.5. Additional Mixed Examples

As the examples (1)-(45) in the analysis section show, the self-perception and positioning of Russian-speaking immigrants towards Canada and their countries of origin are very complex, and often contradictory. In the last set of examples, (46)-

(47), that end the analysis section, the nature, complexity and multiplicity of identities and positioning are illustrated.

Example (46) is given by a 37-year old university employee from Russia, who came to Canada eight years ago. In this example he reflects upon difference in lifestyles between Russia and Canada. In particular, he discusses different approaches to planning various life events. Consider (46):

(46) *Nu, v obshchem-to, v Rossii zhe kak* ***my*** *(a)* ***tam*** *(b) kuda-to sobiraemsia chto-to sdelat', .. u* ***nas*** *(c)* ***tam*** *(d) za dva dnia eshche ne znaem, chto delaem. Vot* ***zdes'*** *(e) uzhe liudi mnogie osobenno raspisyvaiut za polgoda tam, ne znaiu, planiruiut .. otpuska, biznes-poezdki, kakie-to konferentsii chut' li ni za god, a to i bol'she inogda.*

Well, actually, in Russia when **we** (*a*) are about to go somewhere **there** (*b*) to do something .. two days before **we** (*c*) don't know what we are doing **there** (*d*). And **here** (*e*) many people six months in advance already schedule, I don't know, plan .. vacations, business trips, some conferences almost a year and sometimes even more in advance.

In example (46), the contradiction arises between the speaker's self-positioning (as member of the population of the country of origin) in (46a) and (46c)—expressed via the deictic *my* 'we'—and his positioning towards his country of origin, illustrated by the speaker's use of the place reference *tam* 'there' in (46b) and (46d). Also, a certain type of opposition between the deictic first person plural pronoun *my* 'we' in (46a) and (46c) (residents of Russia) and place reference *zdes'* 'here' (46e) (Canada) can be observed.

Example (47) is given by a 33-year old female student from Ukraine, who came to Canada four years ago. It is a part of her answer to the question about things from her home country that she misses in Canada. In (47), the inner fight between the speaker's emotional attachment towards her hometown in Ukraine and its atmosphere is evident:

(47) *Vo Frankovske mozhno ochen', .. ne znaiu, to li* ***tam*** *(a) vozdukh takoi v gorode, to li eshche chto-to, no .. vot* ***eta*** *(b) sreda Ivanofrankovska*

kul'turnaia, .. ona, .. mne ee ochen' ne khvataet, i mne ee vsegda budet ne khva- ne khvatat', no ia tozhe ponimaiu, chto ***eto*** *(c) Ivanofrankovsk, eto malen'kii gorod, v nem khorosho poluchit' obrazovanie i kak-to .. kak-to sformirovat'sia kak lichnost,' no .. chtoby dostich' chego-to eshche v zhizni etogo malo. Potomu Frankovsk eto, .. ia dolzhna smirit'sia, chto eto proidennyi etap, i* ***eta*** *(d) sreda dlia menia budet tol'ko, .. kogda ia* ***tuda*** *(e) budu priezzhat' na neskol'ko nedel'.*

In Frankovsk one can very much, .. I don't know, either the air in the city **there** (*a*) is special, or something else, but .. **this** (*b*) cultural atmosphere of Ivanofrankovsk, .. it .. I miss it a lot, and I always will mi- miss it, but I also understand that **this** (*c*) Ivanofrankovsk is a small town, it is good to get education in it and somehow to .. grow up as a person, but .. to achieve something else in life it is not enough. Therefore Frankovsk is .. I have to make peace with it that it is in the past and I will have **this** (*d*) environment only .. when I will go **there** (*e*) for a few weeks.

This 'inner fight' mentioned above is expressed with the help of the proximal deictic demonstrative pronoun *etot* 'this', as seen in (47b), (47c), and (47d) and her own reasoning, according to which she considers her hometown and life there to be in the past. This reasoning is supported by linguistic evidence of distancing via the place reference *tam* 'there' in (47a) and (47e).

The mixed examples (46) and (47) above illustrate the complexity and multiplicity of identities and positioning expressed in the speech of the participants of this study. The contradiction between the respondent's self-perception as the resident of his country of origin and his distancing from this country expressed in (46) is further supported in (47), in which the speaker tries to find a balance between her past life in Ukraine and her attachment towards that life. Linguistic means mentioned in this category include but are not limited to, demonstrative pronoun *etot* 'this', place references *zdes'* 'here' – *tam* 'there', and first person plural pronoun *my* 'we'.

3.4. Conclusion

3.4.1. Summary of the Analysis

This chapter has provided an analysis of the interviews with the participants in this research. At the beginning of this chapter, the Russian-speaking immigrants' self-

perception is discussed. The following images are revealed in the analysis of the conversations with the participants in the study: that of the family, the Russian-speaking immigrant community, former Soviet citizens, residents of Canada, residents of a respective country of origin, and people unified by culture, ethnicity and language. While the respondents' images as former Soviet citizens and residents of Canada have emerged as not very numerous, all of the other images mentioned above are very well represented in conversations with the participants. Secondly, an analysis of the images is followed by an examination of the respondents' perception of others. It begins with analysis of the respondents' positioning towards local Canadians, Canada as a country, and Edmonton as the city of their new residence. Later, the participants' perception of the local people of their respective countries of origin is scrutinized. This analysis has revealed the participants' almost exclusively positive positioning towards Canada and Edmonton in their interviews. However, at the same time the speakers were shown to very frequently distance themselves from the local Canadian population. Distancing from their respective countries of origin has appeared to be characteristic for the speech of all research participants, while positioning towards the population of their respective countries seems to be contradictory: same research participants show both proximal positioning to and distancing from the population of their countries of origin.

3.4.2. Summary of Deictics

The following deictics have been analyzed in their relation to the construction of the respondents' various self-images and their positionings towards Canada and their countries of origin: personal pronouns *my* 'we' and *oni* 'they'; spatial reference – via the deictic pair of adverbs of place *zdes'/ tut* 'here' and *tam* 'there'; temporal

reference – by means of the deictic pair of adverbs of time '*seichas* 'now' and *togda* 'then'; and demonstrative pronouns *etot* 'this' and *tot* 'that'.

Personal reference is presented in this research by the two above-mentioned personal pronouns *my* 'we' and *oni* 'they'. Similar to Helmbrecht's (2002: 42) claim that "the use of 'we' pronouns is intrinsically connected to the linguistic establishment of social group", among the researched deictics, the first person plural pronoun *my* 'we' in this study is the primary linguistic means used by the respondents to construct their self-images in conversations. De Fina (2003) in her research of identity among undocumented Mexican immigrants in the United States has found out that when talking about their immigrant experiences the first person plural pronoun is used by her respondents to emphasize their collective stories and that their experiences are not unique but similar to all other immigrants. Similar trend can be traced in the present research when the participants' self-image as the representatives of the Russian-speaking community is analyzed. In that category, as well as when the respondents' positioning towards Canadian population is discussed, the collective experience of all immigrants and Russian-speaking immigrants in particular are emphasized. As it has been seen in the self-image of 'Russian-speaking community' many respondents speak of their experiences as those of the first-generation immigrants. *My* 'we', particularly in contrast with the third personal plural pronoun *oni* 'they' used to signal the respondents' proximity towards Canadian population, illustrates another way of presenting collective experiences as immigrants to Canada (see example 25). The pair of personal pronouns *my* 'we' *oni* 'they' is also used by the respondents to distance themselves from the population of their respective countries of origin.

Spatial reference analyzed in this research includes the deictic pair of the adverbs of place *zdes'/ tut* 'here' and *tam* 'there'. Adverbs *zdes'/ tut* 'here' are used by

the participants in the study to express proximity towards either Canada or their countries of origin. Invariably, 'here' means 'in Canada' and 'there' – in a 'country of origin' for all respondents. Among the researched proximal deictics, these adverbs appeared to be most frequently used by the participants for the construction of this positioning. Similarly, the distal adverb of place *tam* 'there' is the most frequent means of expressing distancing from Canada and original countries by the respondents. These spatial deictics analyzed in the research have come to be connected with the concepts of geographic location and social space. Liebscher (2003) has discovered in her study of German TV talk shows that deictics "can lose their anchoring in geographic location" and "can refer to conceptual social places" instead. She claims that "deictics refer to social spaces, including social relationships within these spaces, rather than geographic locations" (Liebscher 2003: 203) and cites the contradiction between geographic location and social spaces found in her research. Although the current research has also identified the instances of the referring to social space instead of geographic location with the help of these deictics, it has not found any contradiction between social spaces and geographic locations. The same can be said about the temporal reference (see example 3) and demonstrative pronouns (see example 41) used to refer to social spaces instead of geographic location or physical time.

As already mentioned before, temporal reference analyzed includes the deictic pair of the adverbs of time *seichas* 'now' and *togda* 'then'. These adverbs are used by the respondents to express the various positionings towards Canada and towards their countries of origin. However, they are not met as frequently as, for example, the adverbs of place used for the same purpose. The category of time is very interesting, because "the indexing and narrativization of experiences of the past construct

affinities which mobilize all the other categories at the same time" (Meinhof and Galasinski 2005: 32). The major time frames in the analysis of this research in most cases represent a dividing moment in lives of the respondents – the moment of migration to Canada. Therefore, the adverbs 'now' and 'then' have come to mean in this research: 'before coming to Canada' and 'after coming to Canada'. These time frames influence the choice of other proximal or distal linguistic means and underscore what the respondents consider their present and what they consider their past, which in turn refers to social places rather than to the actual physical time (see example 3).

Finally, deictic pair of demonstrative pronouns *etot* 'this' and *tot* 'that' has shown to be particularly important for the expression of the positioning either towards Canada and a country of origin or towards population of these respective countries. As Kresin (1998: 434) found out in her research of deixis and thematic hierarchies in Russian narrative discourse, the distal pronoun *tot* 'that' represents "semantic meaning of distance, which is metaphorized as a sense of remoteness at the thematic level" and is used to refer to those points that are "remote from the focus of attention" and which are considered subordinate. This seems relevant when it is considered with the previously mentioned time frames in mind. What is considered in the past for a participant in the study, what is not considered to be relevant, can be also termed subordinate, that is, remote from the focus of attention. Interestingly, these demonstrative pronouns can be used in either temporal or spatial meaning. However, in the current analysis the spatial meaning seems to be more frequent (see example 41). It is used by the respondents to signal their positioning towards their country of origin (see examples 39-41) or towards Canada (see examples 31 and 33) as well as it

is used to refer to the population of Canada (see example 20) and to the populations of respective countries of origin (see example 35).

3.4.3. Synthesis of Examples

The examples for the analysis are taken from the transcripts of interviews. The most representative of examples are chosen for each section. An attempt is made to illustrate each section with the examples from different conversations as well as with examples using a variety of the analyzed deictics, although, this was not always possible. The examples are presented in two main sections. The first section addresses the first research question about self-images constructed by the respondents. It starts with the most frequent self-image of 'family members' and then uncovers five more self-images of lesser frequency.

The second section, 'perception of others' is directed to answer the research question about the respondents' positioning towards Canada and their countries of origin. It seems logical to divide this section into two subsections discussing Canada and original countries respectively and to add discussions of the population of these countries, as it does not seem possible to discuss positioning towards a country without taking into account its people. Each of these subsections starts first with the analysis of the respondents' perception of the people of the discussed country and then continues with the analysis of positioning towards the country itself. Discussion of Canada and its population as well as discussion of countries of origin and their population is divided into contrasting proximal and distal positioning examples.

Such organization of the analysis seems appropriate as it illustrates the three main perception categories among the respondents: 1) themselves; 2) their new country of residence; 3) the country they left behind. Such presentation attempts to

give a more complex picture of the respondents' identity construction and displays its multiplicity and contradictory nature.

In the following discussion section, these images and positionings are discussed in more detail, and are analysed against the respondents' own self-identifications.

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

The present chapter discusses the research results. It is structured in order to answer the three research questions posed at the beginning of this study: 1) how are the self-images of Russian-speaking immigrants and the images of local Canadians constructed through their narrative discourse? 2) what role does ethnic identity play in the construction of these images? and 3) how do the members of Russian-speaking community position themselves in their discourse in relation to their country of origin as well as in relation to Canada? Firstly, the images of Russian-speaking immigrants are discussed, followed by a discussion of the study participants' perception of local Canadians. Then, particular attention is given to the discussion of ethnic identity in relation to the images constructed by participants of this research. In this section, the results of the analysis from the previous chapter are compared with the ethnic identifications declared by the participants in questionnaires. Finally, the participants' positioning towards their countries of origin and towards Canada is discussed.

4.1. Images of Russian Speakers and Their Perceptions of Canadians

The respondents' self-images are constructed with the help of one of the researched deictics - the first person plural pronoun *my* 'we'. As far as positioning towards Canadian population is concerned, *my* 'we', particularly in contrast with the third personal plural pronoun *oni* 'they', and the demonstrative pronoun *etot* 'this' are used by the respondents to signal their proximity, while *oni* 'they' and the distal demonstrative pronoun *tot* 'that', on the other hand, are used to indicate the participants' distancing from the Canadian population.

The linguistic self-images of participants in the study represent the various memberships from which Russian speakers in Edmonton draw. The concept of membership is the key to the definition of identity suggested by Kroskrity, according

to which identity is the "linguistic construction of membership in one or more social groups or categories" (Kroskrity 1999: 111, cited in De Fina 2003: 15). Therefore, the participants' self-images can be also seen as different identities adopted by the respondents in the study during their conversations. Unveiling the multiplicity of identities available to Russian-speaking immigrants in Edmonton, the present study adopts the postmodernist approach to identity which views identity as constructed and negotiated and inseparable from social practices. It particularly underscores the idea of change; new identities can easily appear or be added to already existing identities. Moreover, the multiplicity of discovered identities of the Russian-speaking immigrants relate to the postmodernist idea of 'overlapping identities', which refers to the fact that "the self is simultaneously connected to a number of different identity discourses and resides within overlapping identities" (Monk 2005: 81). Thus, the different identities of the participants in this study become relevant and are shown as constructed at various points during conversation, which helps to show their connectedness with discourse.

The identities discovered during analysis of the conversations with Russian-speaking participants in the study include those of: family members, the Russian-speaking immigrant community members, former Soviet citizens, residents of Canada, residents of the respective countries of origin, and people unified by culture, ethnicity, and language.

Instances of respondents' self-identification as family members are very frequent among the participants in this study in their interviews. In fact, out of fifteen participants eleven migrated to Canada with their families; this identity seems to be relevant for most of the Russian speakers who participated in this research. This is not surprising, as family is the most important support system available to a new

immigrant. When everything else changes after migration to a new country, family is the only thing that stays with the immigrant. Although this identity is not exclusive to immigrants, it seems safe to assume that this identity plays a more important role for a new immigrant than for a person who has always remained in his/her country of origin. One interesting fact worth noting is connected to this category; family for most respondents is understood to mean immediate family (spouse and children); in most cases the respondents talk about family as referring to themselves and to their spouses. The exclusion of other relatives might be explained by the possibility that the respondents identify only with those family members with whom they migrated to Canada. This can also explain the exclusion of children as family in some cases, as in some families children were born only after arrival in Canada, or were very small when they migrated. Therefore, this identity can be further specified as 'members of the immediate family who migrated to Canada together'. This idea is supported by the fact that most of the examples touching upon this identity, i.e. examples (1)-(3), deal with the decision to migrate taken by family members. This illustrates the situated nature of this identity and its connectedness to the discourse.

The next identity that the participants in the study display in their conversations is the identity of 'members of the Russian-speaking community in Canada'. This identity is a new identity adopted by most Russian speakers after their migration, with perhaps the only exception being those research participants who lived in a society where Russian speakers were considered a minority (e.g. a respondent born in Estonia). Even in those cases, this identity is still new because here participants identify with the Russian-speaking community members in Canada, and not those of any other country. As noted above, the instances of participants' self-identification as members of the Russian-speaking community in Canada (and

particularly of Edmonton) are also quite frequent. It is interesting to note, however, that some of the participants appear to distance themselves from Russian speakers belonging to previous waves of immigration. The possible reason for this distancing from Russian speakers who migrated earlier is perhaps the possibility that being recent immigrants the research participants still have a considerable attachment to their countries of origin and their original culture, which they do not see reflected in the immigrants of the earlier waves who appear 'more Canadian' to them. That is also the reason for respondents' distancing from those Russian speakers who do not preserve the language and culture in their families and those who focus on assimilation into Canadian society. This identity can be further specified as 'members of the Russian-speaking community of the first generation' and seems to most frequently surface during the conversations about the importance of preservation of native language and culture.

Instances of participants' self-identification as former Soviet citizens are very rare and are primarily a characteristic of speech of one particular research participant. Both examples given in the analysis chapter (8) and (9), deal with the respondents' memories of life in the former Soviet Union. This can be seen particularly clearly in example (9), in which a female speaker from Ukraine recalls the role of ideology in the Soviet Union. The scarcity of this identity formation amongst most participants in the study is not surprising. The respondents in this study are all recent immigrants; all of them left their respective countries after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Some of them left for Canada, while others first went to other countries and came to Canada later. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, borders were opened and people were free to go to live abroad. Many had been waiting for this opportunity for a long time. The fact that almost no respondents identify with the former Soviet Union can

be explained by their voluntary decision to leave the territory of that country after its collapse, because they were looking for a better life for themselves and for their children. Many of them lived in independent states that used to be Soviet republics for some time before they migrated. The average age of the participants in the study is about 40 years. That means that the majority of them were born in the 1960s-70s, and that by the time they became adults and could consciously understand what was happening around them, it was already the 1980s and the Soviet Union was on its way to collapse. The scarcity of this image, however, may also be explained by the topics discussed during the interviews and also by the linguistic means selected for the analysis.

A new identity experienced by all of the participants in the study is the identity of a 'Canadian resident'. However, most of the respondents do not seem to express belonging to this group. As most of the respondents are recent immigrants with the average length of stay in Canada being eight years, it is possible to assume that some of them still might not feel themselves to be members of Canadian society. Another possible explanation for the scarcity of this image throughout interviews (as identity is viewed here as situational and embedded in social practices) can be attributed to the topics that were discussed during interviews as well as linguistic means chosen for the analysis. It appeared that the image of a 'Canadian resident' was not important for some research participants to convey in interviews conducted for this research. This might also have been influenced by the researcher; if the researcher of the study was not a Russian speaker, but a born Canadian, the results connected to the construction of this image might have been different.

Instances of study participants linguistically expressing belonging to the societies of their respective countries are quite frequent. This identity is present in the

conversations with most of the respondents from Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine. This can be probably explained by the fact that most of them are recent immigrants and many of them still have relatives and friends in their respective countries of origin. Therefore, they still feel attached to some extent to the life in their native countries. Although, as will become evident through further discussion, many of the respondents distance themselves from their countries of origin, many of them still perceive themselves as a part of the population of those countries, even if they sometimes state otherwise. The construction of this identity surfaces in interviews when respondents compare their lives in Canada to their lives in their respective countries. These comparisons come from the respondents' memories of the place when they were living there or from the impressions of their visits after migrating to Canada.

One more identity of Russian speakers, that of 'people unified by culture, ethnicity, and language', is discussed in the following section dealing with ethnic identity. This section is continued with a discussion of Russian speakers' perceptions of Canadians.

As it has been mentioned already, membership in Canadian society has not appeared relevant in the conversations with most of the research participants. The construction of a Canadian image in the discourse of Russian speakers is accomplished through proximal positioning to, and distancing from, Canadian society. Instances of positive positioning towards the Canadian population are not very frequent in conversations with the respondents. On the contrary, instances of the distancing of Russian speakers from Canadians (and other ethnic groups in Canada) are very frequent. Sometimes, confrontation is even felt in conversation with some respondents. It is also interesting that sometimes this distancing is expressed through distancing from some cultural norms common among Canadians (e.g. small talk in

grocery stores) and that both types of positioning seem to be present in the speech of the same research participants, although to a different extent. Similar trend has surfaced from the analysis of the positioning towards the population of the people from the respective countries of origin. These trends uncover the multiplicity and contradictory nature of identity construction among the research participants.

4.2. The Role of Ethnic Identity

As Spink (1999: 12) claims, the issue of ethnic identity is of particular importance for first- and second-generation immigrants. The present study's premise is consistent with this claim. The participants in this study are first-generation Russian-speaking immigrants, and ethnic identity appears to be one of the images frequently constructed in conversation with the research participants. This image, that of 'people unified by culture, ethnicity, and language', is consistent with the definition of ethnic identity suggested by Spink (1999). According to this definition, "ethnic identity includes a sense of belonging to a group whose members have similar ethnic origins, language, culture, beliefs and traditions" (Spink 1999: 9). However, as noted before, for the purposes of this research, the definition of ethnic identity suggested by Spink (1999) is modified as the linguistic construction of belonging to a group whose members have similar ethnic origins, language, culture, beliefs and traditions. The ethnic identity of the respondents identified in this study is based on the participants' belonging to their original ethnic group.

Kalin and Berry (1994) talk about the distinction between behavioural and symbolic ethnic identities. While symbolic ethnic identity represents a mainly nostalgic feeling towards the original culture and traditions, although these are not necessarily incorporated in life, those who exhibit behavioural ethnic identity, according to Spink (1999: 13), "choose as their best friends persons from their ethnic

group, speak only the heritage language, [and] belong to ethnic or religious organizations of the ethnic group and practice endogamy". Interestingly, if we look back at the characteristics of the participants in this study (see page 42), we can find almost all of the described characteristics of behavioural ethnic identity above. As can be seen in Table 2, presented in section 2.2.2.2, on average 65% of the respondents' friends are Russian-speaking. Although three of the respondents identified themselves as Ukrainians, one claimed that her native language is Russian, and another included the same percentage of both Russian and Ukrainian-speaking friends. Only a slight variation is visible, due to the last ethnic Ukrainian participant. Thirteen out of fifteen participants for whom Russian is a native language speak their native language approximately 40% of the time, mostly with their family members and friends. Eight out of fifteen participants belong to various Russian-speaking community organizations in Edmonton. As far as endogamy is concerned, no questions were asked about marital status, but from communication with the participants and from visiting their homes, it became clear that at least seven of them are married, and all of these seven are married within their ethnic group. Therefore, it can be concluded that, to a certain extent, most of the participants exhibit a behavioural ethnic identity representative of their original culture. This is supported by the analysis of deictics in identity construction in the previous chapter, as ethnic identity appeared to be amongst the identified self-images given by the Russian-speaking immigrants in their interviews.

It is interesting to compare and contrast the discussion above with the ethnic self-identifications provided by the participants in the study themselves. Consider Figure 3 on page 44. As noted above, we have come to the conclusion that most of the respondents exhibit a behavioural ethnic identity of their original ethnic group. As can

be seen from Figure 3, one third of the respondents (five out of fifteen) declare either hyphenated (Russian-Canadian) or simply Canadian identities. The other two thirds (ten participants), declare their original ethnic identity (Russian, Ukrainian, Jewish).

It is also interesting to look at the way that respondents declare their ethnic identity when confronted with such question during interviews. In examples (48) and (49) below, we can see that some participants try not to adopt any ethnic identity. However, in the questionnaires some of them change their mind and adopt a certain identity; this might be explained by the possibility that sometimes written words can be thought through more thoroughly than those spoken as well as by situational nature of identity construction. Please consider (48) and (49):

(48) *Ia schitaiu sebia, navernoe, vsem i nichem srazu.*

I probably consider myself everything and nothing as the same time.

(49) *Ne schitaiu sebia lichno nichem.*

I don't consider myself anything.

The next example, (50), is also interesting. It presents the difficulty of self-identification that some immigrants must face in order to decide "who" they are. Please, consider example (50):

(50) *.. Aa ... nu v dushe russkim, .. po pasportu kanadtsem. Nu i .. v ume navernoe, to est', est' dusha, est' pasport, est' um. V ume kanadtsem, navernoe, i russkim, po pasportu - kanadtsem, v dushe - russkim.*

.. Ah ... well [I am] Russian in my soul, ..Canadian – according to my passport. Well, and .. in my mind probably, I mean there is a soul, there is a passport, and there is my mind. In my mind I am Canadian, and probably Russian; according to my passport I am Canadian, and in my soul I am Russian.

The fact that most participants still adopt their original ethnic identity is relatively consistent with the aforementioned discussion about behavioural ethnic identities, and it can be said that the participants seem realistic about their ethnic identifications. The fact that five of them use the word 'Canadian' in their

identifications can be explained by their possible desire to eventually identify fully as one[17]. This idea is strengthened when the respondents' ethnic identifications of their [future] children are discussed. These identifications are presented in Figure 4 on page 45. Figure 4 shows that ten out of fifteen research participants declare either hyphenated (Russian-Canadian) or simply Canadian identities for their children. Usually parents want the best for their children, and sometimes this includes what they did not have for themselves. Looking at the results from this perspective, it can be suggested that being a Canadian or a Russian-Canadian is viewed as desirable by some respondents. However, when compared to the respondents' positioning towards the Canadian population, distancing in relation to the local population still seem to prevail in conversation with most participants. This once again uncovers the complexity of identity construction in conversation with the participants of the study.

4.3. Positioning Towards Countries of Origin and Towards Canada

The last section of the discussion is devoted to the respondents' positioning towards their countries of origin and towards Canada. First, the positioning towards countries of origin is discussed. It is followed with a discussion of the respondents' positioning towards Canada in general, and Edmonton in particular.

Linguistic means used by the respondents to signal their positioning towards Canada and their countries of origin include the following deictics: proximity towards either Canada or the country of origin is expressed through the proximal adverbs of place *zdes'/ tut* 'here', the adverb of time *seichas* 'now', and the demonstrative pronoun *etot* 'this'. However, among these deictics, adverbs of place are much more frequent for the construction of this positioning. Similarly, the adverb of place *tam* 'there' is the most frequent means of expressing distancing from Canada and from

[17] Another possible explanation is the legal status of the participants in Canada.

original countries by the respondents. Other deictics employed for this positioning include the adverb of time *togda* 'then' and the distal demonstrative pronoun *tot* 'that'.

As noted in the analysis chapter, distal positioning from their respective countries of origin prevails among all of the research participants. Proximal positioning, although present, is not very common and is characteristic of the speech of only a few respondents. Another interesting fact regarding proximal positioning is that sometimes this type of positioning is associated with the respondents' memories of their lives in their respective countries of origin. Particularly revealing in this aspect is example (41). In this example, positive positioning towards different aspects of life in Belarus, as remembered by the speaker, is utilized. It can be argued that proximal positioning in this case is used by the respondent not towards his place of origin, but towards his childhood memories. He is nostalgic for his childhood and emotionally attached to his childhood memories, but not necessarily towards his country of origin or a particular place in it. Proximal positioning is also employed when the speakers begin to talk passionately about some aspects of life in their respective countries of origin (see example (39)).

On the contrary, the number of examples in which distancing towards their countries of origin is expressed by the respondents are very frequent in their conversations, and this positioning is characteristic of the speech of all respondents. Distancing examples significantly outweigh in number any proximal positioning examples. Having spent on average eight years in Canada, the participants of this study seem to accept the fact that they have left their countries permanently. However, even those accepting this fact seem not to be able or willing to detach themselves from their countries of origin, because they still have friends, relatives,

and a lot of memories living in those places. In this respect, further research can interesting to find out whether at a later date any changes occur in the Russian-speaking immigrants' positioning towards their countries of origin.

This trend becomes clearer when the participants' positioning toward Canada is discussed. As is seen from the analysis chapter above, the participants in the study almost exclusively use proximal positioning when talking about their new country or city of residence. It is also interesting to note that proximal positioning towards Canada is more often expressed by the respondents through closeness to Canada than through distancing from their countries of origin or other countries where they had lived before they came to Canada (e.g. Japan, United States), although such examples are also present in interviews. Similar trend is seen in the positioning towards Edmonton where proximity towards Edmonton is sometimes expressed through distancing from other Canadian cities (e.g. Toronto, Ottawa) where some of the respondents had temporarily lived before moving to Edmonton. This is common for all respondents and signals a strong emphasis on the present life in Canada. The only example of distancing from Canada discussed in the analysis (example (34)) is used by a research participant when he remembers his time in his home country, and his feelings about leaving Ukraine and moving to Canada as a teenager. It appears that he mentally returns to that time and is speaking from his perspective as if he were still in Ukraine. Therefore, even this example of distancing from Canada does not considerably contradict the examples of proximal positioning towards Canada and Edmonton, as it is clearly associated with memories of the respondent. The fact that all of the participants in the study used positive positioning towards Canada as their new country is very interesting, and supports the previous claim that the respondents seem to accept the fact that they have permanently left their countries of origin.

4.4. Summary

In the chapter above, the results of the analysis have been discussed. The discussion is organized into three sections. In the first section, the participants' self-images and those of local Canadians are addressed. Secondly, the role of ethnic identity in the construction of those images is discussed. Finally, the respondents' positioning toward their respective countries of origin, as well as toward their countries of residence, is addressed.

As mentioned before, the linguistic means used for the analysis include personal pronouns *my* 'we' and *oni* 'they'; spatial reference – via the deictic pair of adverbs of place *zdes'/ tut* 'here' and *tam* 'there'; temporal reference – by means of the deictic pair of adverbs of time *seichas* 'now' and *togda* 'then'; and demonstrative pronouns *etot* 'this' and *tot* 'that'. Their relevance for the construction of different categories (self-images and positionings) is addressed in each section of the discussion chapter.

As shown above, the identities and positionings of the respondents in this study emerged as very complex and sometimes even contradictory. Among the self-perceptions relevant for the respondents in their conversations, the following images appear to be of greater prominence, although to a various degree: family members, members of the Russian-speaking community, residents of Canada, former Soviet citizens, residents of a respective country of origin, and people united by culture, ethnicity, and language. The situational nature of identities is revealed through the connectedness of these images to certain discourse characteristics, such as the discussed topic. The relevance of ethnic identity among these images has been contrasted with the declared ethnic identification of the respondents in questionnaires and no contradictions have been found in this respect.

The positionings of the respondents towards Canada and Canadian population as well as towards their respective countries of origin and the population of those countries uncover a multiplicity of standpoints and their complex nature, as, for example, it is more clearly seen in the analysis of the respondents' positioning towards the population of their respective countries. Both proximal positioning to and distancing from this group is present in the speech of the same participants.

The following is the concluding chapter of this research. In this chapter, the conclusion to this study is discussed and suggestions are given for possible future research.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has investigated the discursive construction of identities of Russian-speaking immigrants in Edmonton. It has adopted Kroskrity's view of identity as a "linguistic construction of membership in one or more social groups or categories" (Kroskrity 1999: 111, cited in De Fina 2003: 15). The research has explored immigrants' discursive self-perception, their portrayal of local Canadians, and the self-positioning of the immigrants in relation to their countries of origin as well as in relation to Canada, with the help of deictic referential expressions. The data was collected through questionnaires and conversations with members of the Russian-speaking community. The goal of the project was to investigate identity construction of the participants through analysis of their discursive practices with a focus on the selected deictics.

Participants for the study were recruited from the local Russian-speaking community. Ten males and five females participated in the study. The data was solicited via two methods: a conversation with each participant was conducted and recorded, and then the participants were asked to fill in a questionnaire soliciting background information and participants' reflections on their self-identifications. Later, all interviews were transcribed.

The analysis of identity construction has focused on deictics. The deictics analyzed in this study are: the personal reference *my* 'we' and *oni* 'they'; the spatial reference *tut/ zdes'* 'here' and *tam* 'there'; the time reference *seichas* 'now' and *togda* 'then', and the proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns *etot* 'this' and *tot* 'that'. These references are analyzed in relation to their role in the discursive construction of

immigrants' self-images, those of local Canadians, and their self-positioning in relation to the country of their origin as well as in relation to Canada.

The analysis of the interviews reveals various images of the research participants. Among the most frequent self-images discovered during analysis of conversations with the research participants are the images of: family members, members of the Russian-speaking community in Canada, residents of respective countries of origin (Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine), and people unified by culture, ethnicity, and language. Less frequent images of the Russian-speaking immigrants include residents of Canada and former Soviet citizens. The first two self-images are further specified in the discussion chapter as family members who moved to Canada together, and as members of the Russian-speaking community of first-generation immigrants residing in Edmonton.

The construction of the image of local Canadians includes respondents' linguistically expressed emotional proximity and distancing. Although present in conversations with the research participants, the instances of the speakers' proximal positioning toward the Canadian population (including various ethnic groups residing in Canada) are considerably outweighed by instances of respondents' linguistic distancing from Canadians.

The respondents' linguistic positioning towards their countries of origin includes both proximity and distancing, although linguistic distancing from their respective countries seems to prevail in the analysis of interviews. A number of proximal positioning instances involve respondents' memories about their countries and appear to represent proximal positioning towards the respondents' memories about their childhood and time spent in their countries of origin, as opposed to positive positioning toward their countries.

The positioning of the research participants toward Canada as their new country of residence is quite straightforward. Almost all instances of positioning employed by the participants in their conversations represent proximal positioning towards Canada, and Edmonton. Only one example of distancing, discussed above, was found during the analysis of conversation with all participants in this research.

Among the researched deictics, the first person plural pronoun *my* 'we' is the primary linguistic means used by the respondents to construct their self-images. *My* 'we', particularly in contrast with the third personal plural pronoun *oni* 'they', and the demonstrative pronoun *etot* 'this' are also used by the respondents to signal their proximity towards Canadian population or population of their respective countries. *Oni* 'they' and the distal demonstrative pronoun *tot* 'that', on the other hand, are used to indicate the participants' distancing from these groups. Proximity towards either Canada or a country of origin is expressed through the proximal adverbs of place *zdes'/ tut* 'here', the adverb of time *seichas* 'now', and the demonstrative pronoun *etot* 'this'. However, adverbs of place seem to be used much more frequently for the construction of this positioning. Similarly, the adverb of place *tam* 'there' is the most frequent means of expressing distancing from Canada and from original countries by the respondents. Other deictics employed for this positioning include the adverb of time *togda* 'then' and the distal demonstrative pronoun *tot* 'that'.

More research would be helpful to further investigate the discursive construction of identity among this immigrant group. First of all, it would be interesting to conduct similar research with a larger sample size in order to provide a more detailed description of the identity construction. Also, more linguistic items can be chosen for analysis. During analysis of the interviews of the present study a few linguistic means that might be interesting for further research of identity construction

among Russian speakers have come to surface. Among them are the motion verbs such as *priekhat'* 'to arrive' and *uekhat'* 'to leave'. The prefixes of these two verbs show the direction of the movement. The use of these verbs for the analysis of the conversations in combination with the deictic place reference 'here' and 'there' could shed more light on the Russian speakers' positioning towards Canada and their countries of origin.

Secondly, it would be interesting to see variations of immigrants' perception of self and others at various stages of adaptation. A different group of study participants at a more advanced stage of adaptation can be chosen for research. Results of such research could be used to see whether there are any differences in perceptions of self and others at various stages of adaptation among Russian-speaking immigrants.

More detailed cross-sectional research can also be conducted with different groups of immigrants at various adaptation stages. Children of first-generation immigrants can also be included in the research. It would be interesting to see whether any trends in the perceptions of Russian-speaking immigrants would emerge. A study of this kind can be combined with a careful assessment of the services provided by various immigrant and refugee serving organizations. Such research could shed more light on how the results of such a study might be incorporated into the work of organizations providing services for newcomers.

Immigration has become a widespread phenomenon in the world, and a lot of research has been done in order to understand its processes and the implications for both those who migrate and those who live in destination countries. The present study has researched the Russian-speaking immigrant community in Edmonton, and has tried to make a modest contribution to the growing research on immigration.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Guide.

a) English Variant

Topics and Possible Questions to the Participants

1. *Origin and native language.*
   a. Where do you come from? Which country? City?
   b. What is your native language?
   c. Do you consider Russian to be your native language?

2. *Reasons for migrating to Canada.*
   a. When did you come to Canada? Why?
   b. Did you already have relatives in Canada, before you migrated to Canada?
   c. How did you come to Canada? Why did you choose Canada? Why did you choose Edmonton?

3. *Adaptation period upon arrival.*
   a. What was the most difficult thing to get used to? Main problems in adapting to life in Canada.
   b. How did the local people treat you? How did the members of the Russian-speaking community treat you? Did you have any contact with these groups before and just after your arrival?
   c. What was easy? What was difficult?
   d. Before you left your country, did you have any concerns about being able to fit in culturally?
   e. Who/what helped you the most in adapting to a new life in Edmonton?
   f. How did you meet people and with whom do you mostly communicate now?

4. *Level of satisfaction with life in Canada and with the decision to migrate.*
   a. Are you happy that you moved to Canada? Edmonton?
   b. If you had a chance to do things differently - would you change what you've done or not?
   c. How do Canadians, members of the Russian-speaking community and others treat you now?
   d. Are you a member of any cultural, religious organization? Do you go to church? Which one? How do you find the church community here? Is it much different from the one you attended in your native country?
   e. How would you describe you life in Edmonton, in general?
   f. How did your life change after you moved to Canada?
   g. Do you consider Edmonton your home? Do you feel at home here?

5. *Attitudes toward local Canadians, other members of the Russian-speaking community and people from a native country.*
   a. Did you have any problems (apart from language problems) while communicating with Canadians?
   b. If you were asked by a friend from your native country to describe Canadians and Canada in general, what would you say?
   c. How is your relationship with your neighbours, colleagues?
   d. Are you an active member of the Russian-speaking community? Do you keep in touch with other people? Do you have a positive experience communicating with other people from the Russian-speaking community?

e. If a Canadian friend asked you about people from your native country and your native country in general, what would you tell him/her?
f. How did you picture Canada before you came here? How close to reality as you experienced it was that portrayal?

6. *Returning back to a respective country of origin for holidays.*
   a. Do you still have relatives in your native country? Do you visit them? How often?
   b. What do you feel when you go back? Has a lot changed there, in your opinion? Do you feel that you no longer belong to the local population there? Or does it seem that you never left?

7. *Importance of preserving the culture and the language.*
   a. How important is it, in your opinion, to preserve your native language? Why is it important?
   b. Do your children (future children) speak your native language? What do you do to ensure that they keep on using it? Do you speak your native language? With whom and how often?
   c. Do you attend any cultural events related to your home country? Which ones and why?
   d. Do you celebrate any holidays here in Canada that you celebrated in your native country? Which ones and why?
   e. How do you preserve your culture? How important is it for you? Do you think you are doing enough or should you be doing more, in your opinion? Why?

8. *Self-perceptions.*
   a. Language is related to who you are. Do you still feel that you are Russian or are you changing a bit? Do you feel that you are a Canadian now? Do you consider yourself to be a member of the Russian-speaking community?
   b. Do you still feel you are the same person?
   c. For those with children: Do you feel that your children are changing? How do you feel about it?

9. *Problems that the participants face in daily life in Canada. Difficulty of being an outsider.*
   a. Do you feel discriminated against? In what situations? Can you give an example?
   b. What is the most difficult thing or issue for you to deal with, in Canada? In Edmonton?
   c. What are the most frequent problems that you face? Are they related to the fact that you are not a born Canadian?
   d. Do you feel that you are an outsider in the community? Why? In which situations?

10. *Memories, likes and dislikes.*
    a. What is it from your home country that you miss? What is your best memory about your native country? What is it from your native country that you do not miss? What is your worst memory about your native country?
    b. What is the best thing that you have discovered about Canada? Edmonton? The worst thing you've discovered?

11. *Recommendations for future immigrants from a respective native country.*
    a. What advice would you give to a person from your country who is about to migrate to Canada?

b) Original in Russian

Темы и предположительные вопросы участникам интервью

1. *Происхождение и родной язык.*
   b. Откуда Вы приехали? Из какой страны? Из какого города?
   c. Какой Ваш родной язык?
   d. Вы считаете русский язык своим родным?

2. *Причины миграции в Канаду.*
   a. Когда Вы приехали в Канаду? Почему?
   b. У Вас были родственники в Канаде до того, как Вы приехали?
   c. Каким образом Вы приехали в Канаду? Почему вы выбрали именно Канаду? Почему Эдмонтон?

3. *Период адаптации после прибытия.*
   a. К чему было труднее всего привыкнуть в Канаде? Каковы были основные проблемы адаптации к новой жизни в новой стране?
   b. Как к Вам относилось в этот период местное население? А члены русскоязычной общины? Вы были в контакте с ними до и сразу же после Вашего прибытия в Канаду, или это произошло позже?
   c. Что было легко? Что было трудно?
   d. До того как Вы уехали из Вашей страны, Вы волновались, что будет сложно из-за культурных различий?
   e. Кто/что помогло Вам больше всего адаптироваться к новой жизни в Эдмонтоне?
   f. Как Вас встретили люди, и с кем Вы сейчас чаще всего общаетесь?

4. *Уровень удовлетворенности жизнью в Канаде и решением иммигрировать.*
   a. Вы рады, что переехали в Канаду? В Эдмонтон?
   b. Если бы у Вас была возможность сделать все по-другому, Вы бы что-то изменили или оставили бы все как есть?
   c. Как канадцы, члены русскоязычной общины и другие сейчас к Вам относятся?
   d. Вы являетесь членом какой-либо культурной или религиозной организации? Вы ходите в церковь? В какую? Как Вы находите церковный приход в Эдмонтоне? Сильно ли он отличается от того, который Вы посещали в Вашей стране?
   e. Как бы Вы описали в общем Вашу жизнь в Эдмонтоне?
   f. Как Ваша жизнь изменилась после того, как Вы переехали в Канаду?
   g. Вы считаете Эдмонтон Вашим домом? Вы чувствуете, что Вы дома?

5. *Отношение к местным канадцам, другим членам русскоязычной общины и жителям родной страны.*
   a. У Вас возникают какие-то проблемы (кроме языковых) при общении с канадцами?
   b. Если бы Вас спросил Ваш друг из Вашей страны описать канадцев и Канаду в общем, что бы Вы ему/ей сказали?
   c. Какие у Вас отношения с соседями, коллегами по работе?
   d. Являетесь ли Вы активным членом русскоязычной общины? Вы поддерживаете связь с другими ее членами? У Вас положительный опыт общения с другими членами русскоязычной общины в Эдмонтоне?
   e. Если бы Вас спросил Ваш друг из Канады о людях из Вашей страны и о Вашей стране в общем, что бы Вы ему/ей ответили?

f. Как Вы представляли Канаду раньше? Насколько реалистичным было Ваше представление?
g. У Вас есть канадские друзья?

6. *Возвращение на летние праздники*
   a. У Вас остались родственники в Вашей стране? Вы их навещаете? Как часто?
   b. Какое у Вас ощущение, когда вы возвращаетесь? Многое ли изменилось, на Ваш взгляд? В лучшую ли сторону? Чувствуете ли Вы, что Вы больше не принадлежите к местному населению? Или Вам кажется, что Вы никогда и не уезжали?

7. *Важность сохранения культуры и языка.*
   a. Как важно, на Ваш взгляд, сохранить родной язык? Почему?
   b. Ваши (будущие) дети говорят на Вашем родной языке? Как Вы в них это поддерживаете? А Вы разговариваете на своем родной языке? С кем и как часто?
   c. Посещаете ли Вы какие-либо культурные мероприятия, относящиеся к Вашей родной стране? Почему и какие?
   d. Празднуете ли Вы в Канаде те же праздники, которые Вы праздновали в Вашей стране? Какие и почему?
   e. Как Вы сохраняете свою культуру? Насколько это для Вас важно? Считаете ли Вы, что Вы делаете достаточно для этого или что нужно делать больше? Почему?

8. *Самовосприятие.*
   a. Язык очень тесно связан с тем, кто Вы есть. Вы все еще считаете себя русским, или Вы постепенно меняетесь? Считаете ли Вы себя канадцем? Считаеле ли Вы себя членом русскоязычной общины в Эдмонтоне?
   b. Считаете ли Вы себя тем же человеком как и до переезда в Канаду?
   c. Для тех, у кого есть дети: Считаете ли Вы что Ваши дети изменились? Что Вы думаете по этому поводу?

9. *Проблемы в повседневной жизни в Канаде. Как трудно быть иностранцем.*
   a. Чувствуете ли Вы, что Вас дискриминируют? В каких ситуациях? Можете ли Вы привести пример?
   b. Что самое трудное для Вас в Канаде? В Эдмонтоне?
   c. С какими проблемами Вы чаще всего сталкиваетесь? Имеют ли они отношение к тому, что Вы не канадец?
   d. Чувствете ли Вы себя аутсайдером? Почему? В каких ситуациях?

10. *Воспоминания, пристрастия.*
    a. Есть ли что-то такое, чего Вам не хватает из Вашей страны? Каково Ваше лучшее воспоминание о Вашей стране? По чему из Вашей страны Вы не скучаете? Каково Ваше чудшее воспоминание о Вашей стране?
    b. Какая Ваша лучшая находка в Канаде? В Эдмонтоне? Какая Ваша худшая находка?

11. *Предложения и рекоммендации для будущих мигрантов из Вашей страны.*
    a. Какой совет Вы бы дали человеку из Вашей страны, который собирается мигрировать в Канаду?

Appendix 2: Socio-demographic Questionnaire

a) English Variant

Age _____

Gender _____

Do you have a university degree?
If yes, what was your specialization? _____

Did you study in Canada or in your native country or both? _____

What is your occupation? _____

When did you migrate to Canada? _____

What is your native language? _____

Do you speak English? If yes, rate it according to the scale – basic, intermediate or advanced.

_____

_____

In percentage, how often do you speak Russian (for example, all the time, about 80% of my time, etc.) and in which circumstances?

_____

_____

Do you consider yourself (check what applies):

___ Russian ___ Canadian

___ Russian-Canadian Other _____

Do you consider your [future] children to be (check what applies):

___ Russian ___ Canadian

___ Russian-Canadian Other _____

In percentage, how many of your friends are Russian-speaking and local Canadians?

_____

Do you have any relatives in Canada? Please, specify.

_____

_____

_____

Are you a member of any Russian-speaking cultural, religious or other community center? If yes, please specify.

Do you consider Edmonton your home? Do you feel at home here?

Do you think it is important for your [future] children to know Russian? Why?

If you were asked by a relative or a friend in your native country to describe the local people and Canada in general, what would you say?

If you were asked by a local Canadian to describe the people from your native country and your native country in general, what would you say?

What advice would you give to a person from your country who is planning on immigrating to Canada?

Thank you very much for your participation!

b) Original in Russian

Анкета

Возраст _____

Пол _____

У Вас есть высшее образование?
Если да, то какая у Вас степень и по какой специальности?
_____

Вы учились в Канаде или в Вашей стране? _____

Кто Вы по профессии (Где Вы сейчас работаете)?
_____

Когда Вы переехали в Канаду? _____

Какой Ваш родной язык? _____

Вы говорите по-английски? Если да, оцените Ваши знания по шкале – basic, intermediate, advanced.
_____
_____

В процентном соотношении, как часто Вы говорите по-русски (например, все время, 80% времени, и т.д.) и при каких обстоятельствах?
_____
_____

Вы считаете себя:

___ русским ___ канадцем

___ русским канадцем Другое _____

Ваших [будущих] детей Вы считаете:

___ русскими ___ канадцами

___ русскими канадцами Другое _____

В процентном соотношении, какой процент Ваших друзей русскоговорящие, а какой – канадцы?
_____

У Вас есть родственники в Канаде? Пожалуйста, уточните.
_____

Являетесь ли Вы членом русскоязычной культурной, религиозной или другой организации? Если да, пожалуйста, объясните.

Считаете ли Вы Эдмонтон своим домом? Вы чувствуете себя как дома?

Считаете ли Вы важным для Ваших [будущих] детей знать русский язык? Почему?

Если бы Ваш друг из Вашей страны попросил Вас описать канадцев и Канаду в общем, что бы Вы сказали?

Если бы Ваш друг из Канады спросил Вас о людях из Вашей страны и о Вашей стране в общем, что бы Вы ответили?

Какой совет Вы бы дали человеку из Вашей страны, который собирается иммигрировать в Канаду?

Большое спасибо за Ваше участие!

Appendix 3: Sample Solicitation Letter to a Community or Immigrant Services Organization

a) English Variant

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Ekaterina Orshankaya. I am a graduate student studying Slavic Applied Linguistics in the University of Alberta, Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies. My supervisors are Dr. Jennifer Dailey-O'Cain and Dr. Alla Nedashkivska.

I am writing to you to request you to help me in recruiting participants for the research I am conducting entitled "Discursive Identities of First-Generation Russian-Speaking Immigrants" which aims at investigating the discursive construction of identities by the members of the Russian-speaking community in Edmonton. I am particularly interested in finding out how immigrants perceive themselves, other members of the Russian-speaking community, and local Canadians. To collect data for my research I am planning to conduct questionnaires and conversations with members of the Russian-speaking community. The target group for my project includes Russian speakers from parts of the former Soviet Union who have spent 5 years or more in Canada.

My request to you is about allowing me to display posters in your organization in places where the target group can quickly notice them. I would also request you if possible to send out the announcement about the research that I am attaching to this letter. Moreover, if you are planning any event in the near future or if it is possible to organize a meeting with the Russian speakers during which I could talk about my project – that would be great.

As a gratitude for your help, you and your organization will be acknowledged in the research paper. And I can share my findings in the form of sending you the approved paper.

Please, let me know about your decision concerning my request.

All the best in your work,

Best regards,

Ekaterina

b) Original in Russian

Здравствуйте!

Меня зовут Екатерина Оршанская. Я студентка Альбертского университета, факультета современных языков и культурологии. Мои руководители - д-р Jennifer Dailey-O'Cain и д-р Alla Nedashkivska

Я Вас беспокою по следующему вопросу. Я сейчас нахожусь в процессе поиска людей для интерью для моего проекта. Я провожу исследовательский проект под названием "Discursive Identities of First-Generation Russian-Speaking Immigrants" (Дискурсивная идентичность русско-говорящих иммигрантов первого поколения), целью которого является исследование того, как члены русскоязычной общины в Эдмонтоне выражают свою идентичность в дискурсе. Меня особенно интересует то, как иммигранты воспринимают себя, других членов русскоязычной общины и местных канадцев. Процедура участия в исследовании состоит из двух частей: сначала, с участником исследования будет проведено интервью. После интервью, участиникам будет предложено заполнить анкету. Мне нужно провести интервью с иммигрантами из бывшего Советского Союза, которые живут в Канаде уже не менее 5 лет.

Я прошу Вас помочь мне найти участников для интервью. Если можно, я бы хотела повесить объявления о проекте там, где бы их могли заметить. Также если планируется встреча с представителями общины, где бы я могда рассказать о своем проекте, или если ее можно организовать - было бы здорово. Кроме того, я буду очень признательна, если Вы перешлете это письмо тем, кто, на Ваш взгляд, может заинтересоваться этим проектом.

В качестве благодарности, обязуюсь упомянуть Вас и Вашу организацию в своей работе и могу, если Вас заинтересует, прислать Вам итоговый вариант исследования.

Если у Вас есть вопросы, я буду рада на них ответить.

Всего наилучшего.

С уважением,

Екатерина

Appendix 4: Poster for Recruiting Participants

a) English Variant

Participate in research

A student from Russia conducting research at the University of Alberta

NEEDS HELP

in finding participants for research. If you come from a **country of the former Soviet Union, speak Russian and have lived in Canada for 5 years and more,** please consider participating in my research project. I am looking at the **experiences of Russian-speaking immigrants in Canada** and their **perceptions about maintaining their own culture within the Canadian context**. The results of the study aim at finding recommendations useful for new Russian-speaking people migrating to Canada.

In you are interested, please **call me at 780-9343319 or email me at orshansk@ualbera.ca**

THANK YOU VERY MUCH AND HOPE TO HEAR FROM YOU!

Katya

b) Original in Russian

Примите участие в исследовании!

Студентка из России, проводящая исследование в Университете Альберты,

Нуждается в Вашей помощи.

Если Вы приехали из страны, входившей в состав **бывшего Советского Союза**, если Вы **говорите по-русски и живете в Канаде не менее 5 лет**, пожалуйста, примите участие в моем исследовании. Меня интересует **опыт русскоговорящих иммигрантов** и их **представление о сохранении родной культуры** в Канаде. Целью исследования является поиск рекомендаций для русскоговорящих иммигрантов, приезжающих в Канаду.

Если Вас заинтересовало мое исследование, пожалуйста, **звоните мне по телефону 934-3319 или пишите по электронной почте orshansk@ualbera.ca**

БОЛЬШОЕ СПАСИБО И, НАДЕЮСЬ, ДО СКОРОЙ ВСТРЕЧИ!

Катя

Appendix 5: Sample Consent Form

a) English Variant

Investigator: Ekaterina Orshanskaya
Department: Modern Languages and Cultural Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Alberta
Contact Information: tel. 492-0883, email orshansk@ualberta.ca
Supervisors: Dr. Jennifer Dailey-O'Cain, Dr. Alla Nedashkivska

Thank you for agreeing to participate in my research. My name is Ekaterina Orshanskaya and I am conducting a research project titled "Discursive Identities of First-Generation Russian-Speaking Immigrants" which aims at investigating the discursive construction of identities by members of the Russian-speaking community in Edmonton. I am particularly interested in seeing how the immigrants see themselves, other members of Russian-speaking community and local Canadians.

The procedure of participating in this research consists of two parts: first, a 30-45 minute conversation will be conducted with each participant. Some of the topics that will be addressed include:

- reasons for migrating to Canada;
- adaptation period upon arrival;
- level of satisfaction with life in Canada and with decision to migrate;
- importance of preserving native culture and language;
- problems in daily life in Canada.

After the conversation, the participants will be asked to fill in a questionnaire.

Please, be assured that your participation in the study is completely voluntary. You can choose not to answer questions if you do not want to and you can withdraw from the research at any time. The researcher guarantees your anonymity as well as your confidentiality. Your name will not be disclosed to anyone apart from the principal investigator and no one apart from her will have access to your data.

The data will be securely stored in my personal computer protected by the password. Your names will be deleted from the data and codified with numbers instead. The master list will be kept in the computer as well. The data and the master list will be kept by the researcher for a year after submitting the final project and then will be destroyed.

The findings of my research can be published in a scientific journal.

If you have any questions about the research, you may either call me at 492-0883 or email me at orshansk@ualberta.ca.

I have read and understood the above information and I agree to participate in the research "Discursive Identities of First-Generation Russian-Speaking Immigrants" conducted by Ekaterina Orshanskaya.

_____	_____	_____
Printed Name	Date	Signature

b) Original in Russian

Согласие на участие в исследовании

Исследователь: Екатерина Оршанская
Отделение современных языков и культурологии, Факультет искусств, Университет Альберты
Контактная информация: тел. 492-0883, e-mail orshansk@ualberta.ca
Руководители: Dr. Jennifer Dailey-O'Cain, Dr. Alla Nedashkivska

Большое спасибо за согласие участвовать в моем исследовании. Меня зовут Екатерина Оршанская, и я провожу исследовательский проект под названием «Дискурсивная идентичность русско-говорящих иммигрантов первого поколения», целью которого является исследование того, как члены русскоязычной общины в Эдмонтоне выражают свою идентичность в дискурсе. Меня особенно интересует то, как иммигранты воспринимают себя, других членов русскоязычной общины и местных канадцев.

Процедура участия в исследовании состоит из двух частей: сначала, с участником исследования будет проведено 30-45-минутное интервью. Некоторые из тем, которые будут затронуты в разговоре, включают в себя:

- причины иммиграции в Канаду;
- период адаптации после прибытия;
- уровень удовлетворенности жизнью в Канаде и решением иммигрировать;
- важность сохранения родной культуры и языка;
- проблемы повседневной жизни в Канаде.

После интервью участникам будет предложено заполнить анкету.

Пожалуйста, будте уверены, что Ваше участие в исследование абсолютно добровольное. Вы можете не отвечать на вопросы, если не хотите, и имеете право отказаться от участия в исследовании в любое время. Исследователь гарантирует анонимность и конфиденциальность Вашего участия в исследовании. Ваше имя не будет известно никому кроме исследователя, и ни у кого кроме нее не будет доступа к Вашим данным.

Данные будут хранится в моем личном компьютере, который защищен паролем. Ваше имя и фамилия будут удалены из данных и зашифрованы при помощи цифр. Список, сопоставляющий фамилии и коды, будет также хранится в компьютере. Данные и этот список будут храниться в течение года после сдачи исследовательского проекта, а затем будут уничтожены.

Результате исследования могут быть опубликованы в научном журнале.

Если у Вас возникнут какие-либо вопросы, Вы можете связаться со мной по телефону 492-0883 или электронной почте orshansk@ualberta.ca.

Я прочитал/а и понял/а вышеизложенную информацию и согласен/а участвовать в исследовании «Дискурсивная идентичность русско-говорящих иммигрантов первого поколения», проводимом Екатериной Оршанской.

_____	_____	_____
Ф.И.О. прописью	Дата	Подпись

Appendix 6: Transcription Conventions

Very broad transcription is used in this analysis. All original Russian examples are given in *italics*. Other transcription conventions include:

..	medium pause	wor-	truncated/cut-off word
...	long pause	wo(h)rd	laughing word
heh	laugh pulse	( )	unintelligible
(word)	uncertain	[ ]	comment
word	deictic expression	word	code-switching

Appendix 6: Transcription Conventions

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heh	laugh pulse	( )	unintelligible
(word)	uncertain	[ ]	comment
word	deictic expression	<u>word</u>	code-switching